

RITUAL AND STATUS: MORTUARY DISPLAY AT THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL AT THE
MIDDLE HORIZON WARI SITE OF CONCHOPATA, PERU

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts & Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2006

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
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University of Pittsburgh, 2006

Using a model derived from McAnany's (1995) study of ancient Mayan ancestor veneration, this study evaluated the patterns of treatment of the dead, and corresponding sociopolitical implications, at the Middle Horizon (A.D. 500-1000) site of Conchopata, a secondary center of the Wari Empire located in Ayacucho, Peru. In addition to residential zones, public plazas, ceramic workshops, and temples, Conchopata has yielded an abundant sample of tombs and burial contexts including two multi-roomed mortuary complexes. This study explores how burial practices and mortuary complexes within domestic contexts related to ancestor veneration by high-status households.

Several types of analyses were conducted. First, 40 architectural spaces from five zones were analyzed to assess spatial variability in household status and wealth, activities, and function. Second, a multidimensional scaling analysis of 38 architectural spaces was undertaken to establish room function and identify special activities. Third, a multidimensional scaling analysis of 31 burial contexts was carried out to identify patterns within the burial population and distinguish status differences in burial treatments. Finally, architectural spaces and burial contexts were compared across zones in terms of artifact proportions and presence/absence of features and artifact types.

The results suggest that all five zones investigated were residential zones composed of high-status households. These households contained at least one room where mortuary ceremonies and rituals were conducted. Both high-status and low-status tombs were identified within the domestic domain, including a special category of infant/child burials. The practice of ancestor veneration at Conchopata was confirmed by evidence for protracted burial rites, continued interaction with the dead, and other criteria of the McAnany model.

High-status households engaged in a specific form of ancestor veneration involving continued interaction with the ancestors through offering holes and post-burial rituals. Although all high-status households engaged in similar types of deathways, two households placed considerably greater investment in activities surrounding the dead by constructing multi-roomed mortuary complexes within their residences. Overall, the type of ancestor veneration evidenced at Conchopata differs markedly from that of the Maya (in which important ancestors were flaunted) as well as from the late prehispanic *chullpa* and Inka practices.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could fill pages praising the people who have made a great impact on me in my journey through graduate school. However, because I am subjecting the reader to 300+ pages of written material to get through, I will try to keep this short and sweet. I know that I will invariably forget to mention someone or not give appropriate credit where due, and I apologize profusely beforehand.

Formal acknowledgements go to the institutions and organizations that supported this research. Financial support for initial exploratory research was provided by the University of Pittsburgh including a research grant from the Department of Graduate Studies, a graduate student summer field research grant from the Center for Latin American Studies, and travel grants from the Graduate Student Organization and the Department of Anthropology. My 2002 fieldwork was funded by a dissertation research grant from the National Science Foundation (Award No. BCS-0127302) and an IIE-Fulbright grant, and excavations were carried out under a permit issued to Dr. William Isbell by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura of Peru. The writing of this dissertation was supported by a University of Pittsburgh Provost Pre-doctoral Fellowship. Finally, I would like to thank the Conchopata Archaeological Project for allowing me access to project artifacts and the use of project photographs, forms, and maps in my dissertation. Juan Carlos Blacker is especially applauded for his amazing map of the Conchopata archaeological site. And, special thanks go to Tiffany Tung and Mark Lichtenfeld whose human skeletal data were used in the burial analysis.

As the single exception to my short-and-sweet promise, a somewhat lengthy acknowledgement goes to the person who started me on my journey and provided me with the opportunities to continue on the path. My initiation into and subsequent research interests in the

world of Andean archaeology were instigated by William Isbell of SUNY Binghamton who enthusiastically allowed me to participate in research he was conducting on the shores of Lake Titicaca in Bolivia during the summer of 1997. His subsequent invitation to me to participate on the Conchopata Archaeological Project during the summer of 1999 was instrumental in developing my research interests in the Wari. As part of the CAP family, I returned to participate in the 2000 and 2001 field seasons, was given greater and greater responsibilities, and developed the skills and know-how to run my own research project in 2002. Bill's generosity, knowledge, support, enthusiasm, and advice have been the foundations of my successes.

I am profoundly grateful to my advisor, Marc Bermann, whose vision, insight and intellect helped give my research and dissertation color and coherence. His comments and suggestions often turned potential disasters into respectable efforts. Dr. Robert Drennan's availability, reliability and wisdom were influential throughout my graduate school career and were especially instrumental in pushing me to finally finish. And, Dr. James Richardson and Dr. Kathy Linduff's patience and encouragement kept me from losing heart.

I developed many professional relationships and friendships through the years I spent working and collaborating with members of the Conchopata Archaeological Project, and I value the intellectual exchanges with and assistance generously provided to me by everyone. I am thankful for the knowledge and experience gained through working alongside the CAP project directors and administrators: Bill Isbell, Anita Cook, Jose Ochatoma, Martha Cabrera and Alberto Carbajal. Warm thanks and cariños go to fellow CAP amigos and compañeros with whom innumerable laughs and adventures were shared: Catherine Bencic, Juan Carlos Blacker, David Crowley, Masaki Doy, Greg Kettelman, Juan Leoni, Nikki Slovak, Tiffany Tung, and Barbara Wolff.

My life is richer from having worked with the dozens of local Ayacucho inhabitants and university students who participated in the CAP project over the years. I would like to specifically acknowledge the CAP project members who worked with me during my 2002 fieldwork; their hard work and commitment were key to the successful completion of my archaeological excavations and they have my eternal gratitude: Alex Javier Palomiro Vargas, Carlos Mancilla Rojas, Eloy Huamani, Estébon Cuya Loura, Eleudora de la Cruz Colos, Haydee Tapia Vásquez, Ismael Mendoza Espinoza, Jhonny Tello Pariona, Jimmy Jaureyui Suarez, Jorge Luis Soto Maguino, Jorge Villanueva Espinoza, José Luis Silva Vargas, Lorenzo Huisa Palomino, Marilú Martinez Gómez, Máximo López Quispe, Melissa Barrientos Artialon, Míriam Gil Sicha, Oscar Huamán Lopez, Ricardo Gutierrez Gutierrez, Severo Morote Tupia, and Zhon Silva Vargas. I would like to single out Ismael Mendoza Espinoza, Marilú Martinez Gómez and José Luis Silva Vargas for providing their continued assistance during the long artifact analysis phase of my fieldwork. They made the sometimes tedious analysis process not only bearable but fun, and I owe them a debt of gratitude for their friendship, dedication and enthusiasm.

I am forever appreciative of the intellectual exchanges engaged in and friendships developed over the years with fellow colleagues. I would like to specifically express my gratitude to those who most specially touched my heart and intellect: Catherine Bencic, Juan Carlos Blacker, Frayda Cohen, Anita Cook, Piper Crisovan, Miriam Doutriaux, Lara Homsey, Bill Isbell, Elizabeth Janney-Kruschek, Juan Leoni, Sarah McCloskey, Angela Lockard Reed, Nikki Slovak, Amy Speier, and Barbara Wolff. Over the past few years especially, Frayda, Piper, and Miriam proved to be my pillars of strength, and we all shared the same pain of getting through the writing process. We laughed, despaired, raged and conquered. But mainly we laughed...and raged.

Though probably unbeknownst to them, I want to single out a few people who were points of light during my years at Pitt; their enthusiasm and positive energy have been greatly appreciated: Dr. James Richardson, Dr. Richard Scaglione, Dr. Jeffrey Schwartz, Phyllis Deasy, Kathy Lancaster, and Felice Kappel who is not forgotten.

My mom's belief in me as one of the most amazing and capable people in the world was sometimes the only thing that made me stick it out. Her love, support and contagious positive attitude have been essential to my perseverance and success. I also want to give my warmest affection and gratitude to Howard and Temmy Lehman. Their confidence in my abilities, support in my endeavors, and interest in my research were more important to me than they can ever imagine.

Finally, by tradition, I save the best for last. Daniel Lehman has been my greatest source of support and encouragement and my biggest fan throughout the long ordeal and journey through graduate school, fieldwork, and the writing process. All my love, appreciation, and gratitude are his. I could not have done it without him.

1. INTRODUCTION

The first Europeans to encounter indigenous civilization in the Andes were amazed by the dynamic social and political lives of the dead. Throughout the southern highland Andes, the bodies of important lineage ancestors were kept in special houses of the dead (*chullpas*), and were worshiped and paraded in elaborate mortuary rituals (Cobo 1990 [1658]:246-52; Harris 1982:46; Isbell 1997:38-43; MacCormack 1991:91-95; Rowe 1995:29; Salomon 1995; Sillar 1992, 2004). As archaeologists and ethnohistorians are continuing to explore the role of the dead in the social and political realms of the living in the native Andean world, mortuary studies are newly relevant in investigating the sociopolitical dynamics of complex prehispanic political systems. As Isbell (1997:284) notes, mortuary monuments provide "a window into prehistoric Andean social organization."

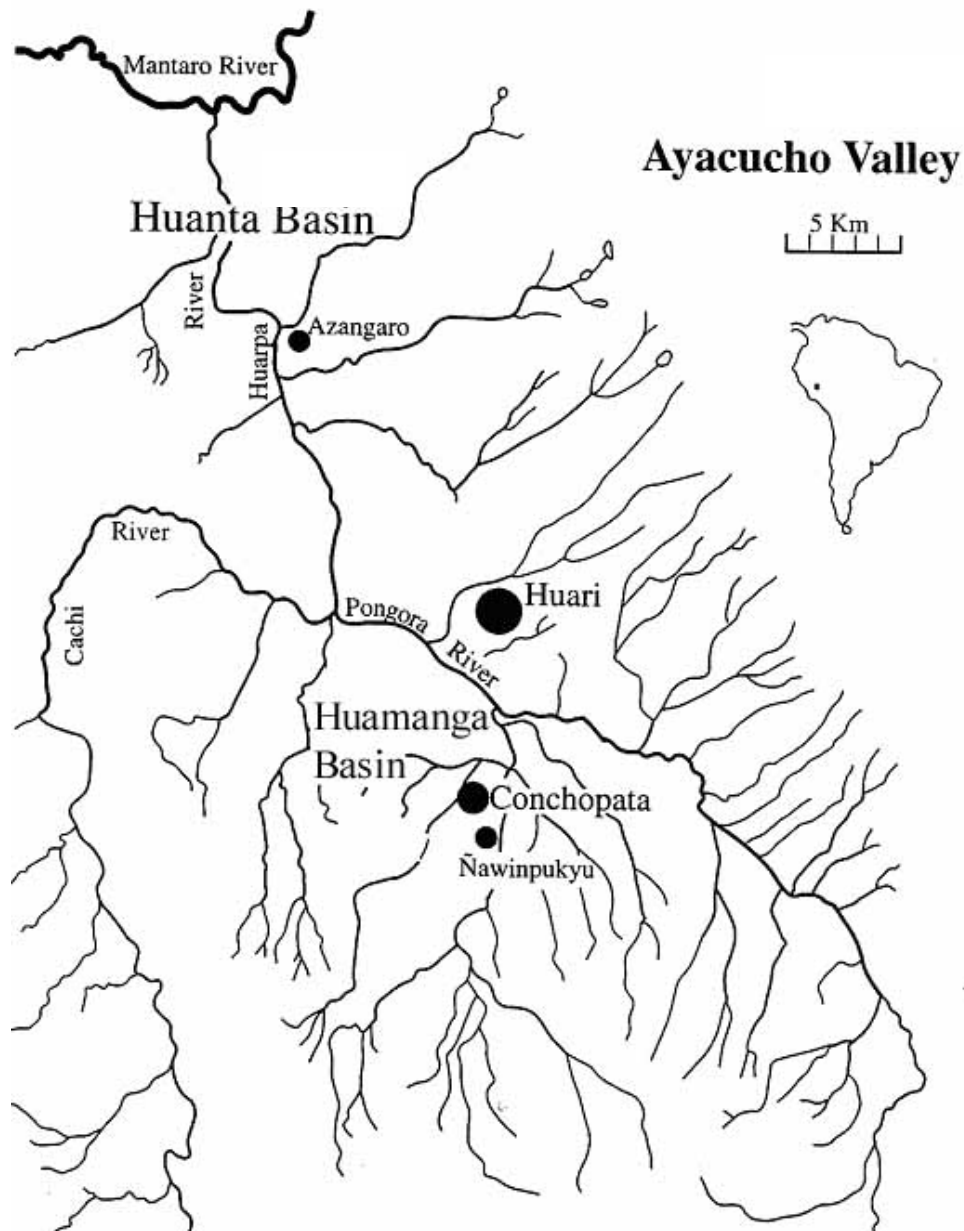
The time depth of much ethnohistorically observed mortuary behavior remains open to question. Some of the mortuary behaviors documented for late prehispanic times, such as ancestor veneration, may have found earlier expression in the Wari Empire (A.D. 500-1000), which dominated the central Andean highlands during the middle of the first millennium A.D. (Isbell 1997). The Wari were one of two co-existing powers along with the Tiwanaku that dominated the Andean highlands several hundred years before the rise of the Inca Empire (Isbell 1986, 1987b, 1988; Isbell & Cook 1987; Isbell & McEwan 1991a; Isbell & Schreiber 1978; Schreiber 1992, 2001).

Two mortuary complexes uncovered at Conchopata, a secondary center of the Wari Empire located in the imperial heartland (see Figure 1), provide the first opportunity to investigate contextually the role of the dead in Wari statecraft and everyday life. Particularly significant about these mortuary complexes is their association with two separate residential

compounds (Isbell & Cook 2000). But how were the Conchopata mortuary complexes used, and by whom?

Figure 1: Map of the Ayacucho Valley, Peru*

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2000



This study centers on a model drawn from McAnany's (1995) study of ancestor veneration, kinship, and political power in ancient Mayan society to test the hypothesis that the

Conchopata mortuary complexes were connected with the veneration of elite ancestors. This research investigates the sociopolitical implications of these mortuary structures, including the possibility that they are manifestations of elite ancestor veneration, by looking at the mortuary complexes and their association with surrounding residential compounds, comparing these residential compounds to other domestic contexts in order to assess the wealth and status of the households associated with the mortuary complexes, and comparing the tombs in the mortuary structures with other tombs to determine the dimensions of variability in burial practices at Conchopata.

This research addresses both empirical and theoretical issues. Empirically, this research will provide an in-depth look at residential organization at a Wari site. Specifically, it will shed light on Wari mortuary activity in residential settings. Finally, based on the challenges of doing research at a site that has undergone severe transformations due to looting and modern-day construction activities, this study is an exercise in the methodology of intrasite spatial analysis.

From the perspective of anthropological theory, this study is in keeping with much current research dealing with issues of how social differences were developed, legitimized, and represented in archaic state societies and, more mundanely, of how the dead figured in daily life and the perpetuation of social memory. As noted by McAnany (1999:131), the location of burials under or near domestic spaces indicates that "mortuary ritual coexisted with the daily routine."

1.1. Conchopata, a secondary center of the Wari Empire

From its urban capital at the site of Wari, the Wari Empire was able to control the Andes through a series of military conquests and set up a string of subsidiary administrative centers such as Pikillacta, Jincamocco, and Viracochapampa, which were connected by an extensive system of

roads. The Wari capital, covering 200-300 hectares, was a dense settlement composed of towering stone walls, narrow streets, multi-storied buildings, plazas, temples, and residential compounds (Isbell & Schreiber 1978; Isbell 1987b; Isbell 1988; Isbell et al. 1991; Isbell & McEwan 1991; McEwan 1991 & 1998; Schreiber 1992; Richardson 1994:133). Some sectors of the settlement were important areas for mortuary activity (Benavides 1991; Isbell 2004, 2006; Isbell & Vranich 2004:180; Pérez 2001).

Conchopata was a subsidiary center of the Wari Empire located in the Ayacucho Valley about 10 km south of the Wari capital. Located at over 2700 meters above sea level, it covers an area of about 20 hectares. It was most likely a center for pottery production during the Wari period (Cook & Benco 2001b; Pozzi-Escot 1991:83; Pozzi-Escot et al. 1998). In addition to residential zones, public plazas, ceramic workshops, and temples, Conchopata has specialized mortuary complexes and rooms devoted to mortuary activity. According to Pozzi-Escot (1991:82-83), the northern section of Zone A is believed to be a higher-status residential area based on its finer architectural construction techniques and fragments of fancy vessels, whereas the southern section of Zone A was a lower-status area where pottery was produced. The far southern section of Zone A was purportedly used as a cemetery throughout the Middle Horizon.

Excavations conducted at Conchopata during the 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002 field seasons were carried out in Zone B (see Figure 2). These excavations uncovered burial types ranging from simple interments of single individuals buried in pits to burials containing multiple individuals in cists or tombs dug into bedrock. These burials were located in several different contexts, for example beneath plazas, beneath the floors of domestic residences, or within specialized mortuary complexes. These differences in mortuary context suggest that treatment of the dead at Conchopata was a means of expressing social or political distinctions.

Figure 2: Map of Conchopata
(adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002)



1.2. Uses of the Dead

Since the time of Hertz (1907 [1960]), scholars have recognized that funerary rites play an important role for the living (Binford 1971; Brown 1981; Chapman & Randsborg 1981; Goldstein 1981; Hodder 1982; McHugh 1999; Metcalf & Huntington 1991; O'Shea 1981; Pader

1982; Pearson 1982, 1993, 1999; Saxe 1970; Tainter 1978; Ucko 1960). In one such role, deathways provide what Pearson (1982:112) describes as a "platform for social advertisement" with activities surrounding the deceased providing an opportunity for displays of "status aggrandizement" by living individuals or kin groups. From this perspective, funerary social display was potentially an important element of self-aggrandizing strategies or in prestige competition among social segments. For example, by constructing monumental tombs, mounds, or mortuary monuments a group's presence and power were visually stamped on the landscape (Conrad 1992; Drennan 1995; Pearson 1993, 1999). The crux of this activity was to emphasize connections with powerful ancestors which served to legitimize and/or reinforce one group's power over others.

Another context in which the dead are essential to the living is in ancestor veneration, particularly in societies organized into descent groups. In these societies, ancestor veneration is closely connected with kinship, social inequality, and power (Conrad & Demarest 1984; Conrad 1992; D'Altroy 1992 & 1994; DeLeonardis & Lau 2004:78; Dillehay 1995b; McAnany 1995; Salomon 1995; Isbell 1997).

Ancestor veneration refers to those "rituals and practices surrounding the burial and commemoration...of apical ancestors of kin groups" (McAnany 1995:11). An ancestor is someone who is remembered (Whitley 2002:122), and only specific individuals could achieve the status of venerated ancestor after death. These ancestors are believed to have the ability to influence the lives of the living (DeLeonardis & Lau 2004; Lau 2002:281; McAnany 1995:11; Moseley 1992:53-4; Salomon 1995:324; Sillar 1992:115). Important ancestors may be called upon to help the sick, ensure victory in war, or provide fertility to agricultural fields. Ancestor

veneration is distinct from funerary rites in that the rituals and practices associated with ancestor veneration continue long after the body has been laid to rest (Lau 2002:281).

1.3. Ancestor Veneration in the Andes

Father Bernabe Cobo's (1990 [1658]) 17th century account of Inka ancestor worship was one of the first written sources on what is believed to have been a widespread practice among Peru's ancient peoples. Ancestor veneration in the Andean world has been argued to stretch as far as back as 5,000 B.C. to the egalitarian Chinchorro fisherfolk, who preserved their dead using clay, cane, and wood to reconstruct and stabilize the body and face (Moseley 1992:93-4; Rivera 1995; Vreeland 1998). And ancestor veneration continues to be practiced among Andean indigenous groups today (Allen 2002; Bastien 1995; Dillehay 1995b; Kolata 1996; Sillar 2004).

All Saints Day in early November is an important holiday in Latin America in which the souls of the dead return to visit the living (Allen 2002:139). Souls of the dead return to their homes and cemeteries where they are provided food and drink. The dead are treated thus because they are still considered family deserving of attention, and by treating them well the living believe the ancestral souls will increase the productivity of their lands and livestock (Sillar 1992:116-7).

Near Cuzco, Peru, the present-day Quechua Indians of the village of Sonqo maintain relations with their ancestors (Allen 2002:38-41). *Chullpas*, many still containing human skeletal remains, can be found on hills surrounding the village. The Sonqueño Indians believe that these *chullpas* are inhabited by the "Old Ones" who live in a parallel world, and that they socialize with each other and work in the fields at night. These Old Ones are invoked in daily rituals in order to appease them as they are believed to have an influence on the living, ranging from positive influences such as providing fertilizer for crops or negative influences such as

bringing illness or death. Some Sonqueños keep select bones of their ancestors in their homes for protection.

The Huarochirí Manuscript, written in the late 16th to early 17th centuries, comprises a collection of indigenous myths and narratives. Ethnohistorically, small agricultural villagers living in *ayllus* practiced ancestor veneration of important *ayllu* founders. The bodies of ancestors were placed in caves or housed in *chullpas* which were set apart from the houses and lands of the living. In return for the care and offerings they were provided, the ancestors were requested to intervene on behalf of the living to help with making the crops grow, protect against disease and illness, or bring health and wealth (Isbell 1997:78-80; Salomon 1995:319-21).

One alternative to the *chullpa* form of interment for political leaders has been documented in south-central Chile among the historically known Araucanians and the present-day Mapuche (Dillehay 1990, 1995b). In these cases, high-ranking chiefs were buried in shallow graves over which a large earthen mound was constructed. The construction of the mound took place over several years. During each mound-capping ceremony, which occurred one year after death and subsequently every 4 to 8 years, the chief's relatives danced around and performed ceremonies at the mound. These ceremonies included animal blood-letting and sacrifice, feasting, and offerings of *chicha*, a beer made of maize, which could include breaking *chicha* jars over the tomb. During mound-capping ceremonies, vertical holes are placed in the mound and animal blood and *chicha* are poured down these holes as offerings to the deceased (Dillehay 1995b:297). These capping ceremonies served to transform the deceased into a revered ancestor. According to Dillehay (1995b:283), the extended mound construction process was also important in legitimizing the authority of the newly installed leader and helping him maintain and build

alliances between lineages. Lines of mounds were tangible testimony to a chief's lineage and thus visual reminders of his legitimacy and authority.

A different form of ancestor veneration was practiced by the Moche. The Moche dominated Peru's north coast between A.D. 100-800. Unlike the Inka and other ethnohistorically known indigenous groups who placed important ancestors in accessible places such as caves and *chullpas*, the Moche buried their dead in the ground either beneath house floors, in cemeteries, or in sacred places (Millaire 2004; Shimada et al. 2004). However, despite the placement of the dead in seemingly inaccessible locations, the Moche probably practiced ancestor veneration (Millaire 2004). The Moche periodically reopened graves to remove specific human bones or place secondary human offerings into the grave. This manipulation of human remains suggests that the bones of certain individuals, perhaps ancestors, were a source of power for the living (Millaire 2004:386).

The Inka are renowned for their veneration of important ancestors. This veneration reached extraordinary heights when it came to the worship of the mummies of Inka rulers (Isbell 1997:38-51; Sillar 1992, 2004:168-72; Vreeland 1998:171-4). Despite his death, an Inka ruler retained ownership over the property he accumulated in life through the administration of his estate by his living descendants. When an Inka ruler died, his body was embalmed and he retained his place in the world of the living. He was clothed, fed, and cared for by special attendants. The mummies of Inka rulers were brought together for special occasions to participate in ceremonies and rituals in the main square of the Inka capital at Cuzco.

In ethnohistorically known and contemporary Andean societies, ancestors were and continue to be placed in a variety of resting places which range from being buried in below-the-ground inaccessible tombs to being placed in small above-ground houses of the dead (*chullpas*)

to residing in luxury in a palace with their living descendants. This diversity in location of the final resting place of ancestors in ancient and contemporary Andean societies indicates that the form of interment for the deceased itself is not necessarily indicative of the presence or absence of ancestor veneration.

1.4. Ancestor Veneration at the Mayan site of K'axob: A case study

In one of the most provocative archaeological approaches to the subject of ancestor veneration, McAnany (1995) links ancestor veneration to the development and maintenance of socioeconomic and political inequality for the ancient Maya. By burying the dead in specialized residential shrines or beneath house floors, links were created between the living, the ancestors, and the surrounding physical environment. By maintaining "active lines of communication" with the dead in the form of rituals associated with ancestor veneration, the living could draw power from the past and legitimize social status, political power, or rights to economic resources (McAnany 1995:1).

In the Mayan region, ancestor veneration was practiced at different scales. The Classic Maya principally buried their ancestors in either a residential/ritual context or within a public ritual context (McAnany 1995:50). Royal ancestors were interred with lavish grave goods within temple-pyramids located in the center of their cities and in very public contexts. For example, important ancestors of Tikal dynasties were interred in the North Acropolis located at the site of Tikal. Excavations on the North Acropolis revealed numerous constructions, modifications, and renovations that occurred over a thousand year period, in addition to accompanying hieroglyphics and iconography. Throughout the Mayan region, temple-pyramids probably served as royal "ancestor-mortuary complexes" (McAnany 1995:52). Public ceremonies and

rituals carried out on these temple-pyramids served to reinforce the power of these royal elites and lent hereditary substance to their privilege and authority.

However, ancestor veneration was not confined to the Mayan elite. Households of lower status lineages placed their important ancestors, together with modest grave goods, in special ancestor shrines up to 2 or 3 meters tall which were located around residential plaza groups (McAnany 1995:53). Only the most important lineage heads were accorded ancestor status, and those family members with the closest blood ties to these important ancestors held higher status than other lineage members. As McAnany (1995) documents in both elite and nonelite cases, there is evidence for dedicatory rituals, new construction activities, and remodeling of the places where ancestors were interred. Smaller residential compounds did not always have ancestor shrines since they were early in their developmental cycle or may have had lineage ties with larger complexes nearby where important ancestors were housed (McAnany 1995:99).

Specifically, McAnany (1995, 1999) looks at the development and importance of ancestor veneration through time at the Mayan site of K'axob, which was a large village located in present-day Belize. During the Middle Formative (800-400 B.C.), most of the burials at K'axob were extended. But during the Late Formative (400 B.C.–A.D. 250), there was a major shift in burial position with bodies now placed in a flexed or seated position, arguably positions indicative of authority. Of the individuals who could be identified that were buried in a flexed or seated position, all were male (McAnany 1999:133). These changes in burial position occurred concurrently with differentiation in domestic structures. The period between the Late Formative and beginning of the Early Classic (~A.D. 150/250) saw the adoption of monumental pyramid plazas in Mayan villages such as K'axob (McAnany 1999:141).

At K'axob, the Operation I excavation unit was located on the east side of a pyramidal structure. This pyramid was built during the Early Classic over the Operation I burial facility. The Operation I burial facility, which was in the form of an oblong trench, contained the largest sample of burials. These burials included both adults and children, and consisted of primary and secondary interments. The fact that this burial facility contained the largest sample of burials and that it was reopened and resealed several times to add additional individuals, indicates that it was the focal point of mortuary rituals at K'axob (McAnany 1995:63, 1999:133).

The Operation I burial facility was sealed over by a platform structure, making it the first "ancestor shrine" at K'axob. The flexed burials of high-status males, their family members, and the ancestors were placed in this ancestor shrine. At the end of the Formative period, the shrine was covered and capped with a pyramid (McAnany 1995:55-58).

According to McAnany (1999:135-6), children and adults were buried together only during the end of the Late Formative period. In the Operation I burial facility, the state of the human bones indicate that many of the individuals were either defleshed prior to being placed in this tomb or disinterred from an original place of burial and brought to this location. This grouping together of numerous individuals of all ages and sexes into one burial location suggests the presence of a familial group. The fact that infants and children were part of this family interment suggests that they were entitled to certain treatment based on their family status.

In the Mayan region, royal tombs and public monuments were mainly geared towards the interment and glorification of male rulers, as exemplified at the site of Tikal (Sharer 1994). But there is less gender inequality among lower-status Tikal burials. At K'axob, males rather than females were buried in positions of authority (flexed or seated) and with symbols of authority (the quadripartite motif). However, women were also accorded special treatment by being

buried under house floors and were part of the collection of ancestral remains in the centrally located Operation I burial facility where the first ancestral shrine was constructed and later capped by a pyramid (McAnany 1999:143).

At K'axob, the adoption of monumental architecture was preceded by a shift in burial practices, from extended to flexed positions and the placement of ancestors in a central location (Operation I), and differentiation in domestic architecture. These changes in burial practice suggest that role of the ancestors was important in the development and negotiation of power among select families at K'axob (McAnany 1999:143-4).

1.5. The McAnany Model

Within residential contexts of the Maya, burials were often placed beneath house floors, beneath courtyards, or within special shrines (McAnany 1995:55). Individuals buried within specially constructed mortuary structures such as shrines were genealogically more important than those buried in other contexts. Unlike burials located beneath floors or courtyards, the construction of special mortuary structures facilitates continued access to ancestors (Isbell 1997:285).

McAnany's (1995) study provides a powerful model that combines two deathway themes discussed above: ancestor veneration and elaborate deathways as an elite social practice. This model provides the framework to evaluate the variation in Conchopata burial contexts within the domestic realm. Unlike other approaches to mortuary data, this model has the advantage of clear archaeological correlates that can be used to explore whether deathways at Conchopata played a similar sociopolitical role. The following hypotheses were developed from McAnany's model to investigate Conchopata deathways:

- 1) If ancestor veneration was practiced, there should be evidence for protracted burial rites, such as secondary burials and post-mortem treatment of defleshed bones. These rites

may be manifested archaeologically in skeletal parts consistently absent from the final resting place of the deceased, incomplete skeletons, or the presence of specific skeletal parts in special contexts such as niches or shrines (McAnany 1995:11, 61-62). Other archaeological evidence for protracted burial rites includes the periodic reopening of tombs and arrangements of grave goods that indicate tombs were reopened periodically and offerings added or removed (McAnany 1995:57, 63).

2) If ancestor veneration was important for status display, there should be evidence for "performance reaffirmation rituals" (Marcus 1992:63 [from McAnany 1995:31]). This propitiation of the ancestors could take many forms such as feasting activities, processions, and/or dedicatory rituals (McAnany 1995:31-39). Archaeologically, we might expect to find evidence for serving vessels for large-scale feasting in burials or associated midden contexts, prestations of distinctive items which are linked iconographically to or portray the dead, animal sacrifices, or offerings of food.

3) If the presence of ancestors was important in the legitimation of kin group status and power, then we would expect venerated ancestors to be kept close to domestic residences which served as the "curational envelope" for the ancestors (McAnany 1995:50). Not everyone could achieve the status of venerated ancestor; therefore, tombs of specific ancestors are expected to be different from those of individuals who did not become venerated ancestors. Archaeologically, we would expect ancestors to have been placed in special shrines or other types of mortuary structures directly associated spatially or architecturally with dwellings. Individuals who did not become venerated ancestors were probably buried in other locations such as in cemeteries, in construction fill, or under house floors (McAnany 1995:115).

4) If ancestor veneration was practiced, then only certain dead qualified as venerated ancestors. There should be gender and age biases in the individuals receiving special burial treatment. Specifically, we would expect venerated ancestors to be adults (McAnany 1995:60). The sex of skeletal remains of venerated ancestors can also provide evidence of lineality. If only adult males are venerated as ancestors, the society is likely to have been organized along patrilineal lines; if only adult females are represented, the society may have been organized matrilineally. The presence of both adult males and females would suggest a more complex picture of patrilineal or ambilineal descent.

5) If ancestor veneration was practiced at different social scales, then we would expect ancestor veneration practiced by elites to be qualitatively different from that practiced by nonelites (McAnany 1995:10). The places where ancestors were kept within high-status residences should be distinct from those in low-status residences, such as being more elaborate and better furnished. In addition, important ancestors of high-status households may have been kept in special shrines whereas in low-status households they may have been buried in simple graves beneath house floors. Grave goods found in burials within special mortuary structures should be of better quality, for example elaborately decorated or made of exotic materials (McAnany 1995:53, 55).

6) If ancestor veneration was practiced, then funerary structures housing important ancestors might show evidence for continued interaction with the ancestors. Provision for entryways into funerary structures or mechanisms for easy access to the dead, such as communication devices, are archaeological indicators for this continued interaction. Likewise, evidence for continued interaction could be represented by reuse, expansion, and/or remodeling

of the mortuary structure "as the array of ancestors changed and expanded through time" (McAnany 1995:52).

1.6. Alternatives to the McAnany Model

For both the Maya and contemporary and ethnohistorically known Andean peoples such as the Inka (A.D. 1438-1532), ancestors had similar roles. They served to legitimize social and political inequalities, promote claims to land and other resources, and organize social relations; ancestors were also important in warding off sickness or death, protecting the home, and bringing fertility to crops (Allen 2002; Bastien 1995; Carlsen 1991, 1996; Dillehay 1995a; Isbell 1997; Kolata 1996; DeLeonardis & Lau 2004; McAnany 1995; Salomon 1995; Sillar 1992). Thus, many of the motivations for venerating ancestors were similar for both the Maya and Andean peoples.

The McAnany model provides a framework within which we can evaluate the existence of ancestor veneration at Conchopata and adjudge how the living related to the dead in everyday life. To this end, the McAnany model makes specific predictions about the types of archaeological correlates that would be associated with the veneration of important lineage ancestors. However, Wari mortuary treatment may not have included the type of ancestor veneration McAnany has described for the Maya. Elaborate burial treatments are not always associated with ancestor veneration as an institution. In addition, functional explanations for ancestor veneration are not always related to status display, legitimation of power, maintenance of kin group ties, or territorial rights. Finally, the practice of ancestor veneration can take many forms from simple invocations requesting favors from a group of anonymous ancestors (i.e., the ancient ones) to elaborate ceremonies involving large groups of people to fete a specific ancestor.

Because ancestor veneration can manifest in different ways or take forms other than that proposed by the McAnany model, several alternatives are considered to explain mortuary patterns at Conchopata. For example, one possible alternative to the McAnany model is that the Conchopata mortuary complexes represent royal or high-ranking family crypts built as part of funerary practices not linked to ancestor veneration. In many societies of today and the recent past, the deceased of wealthy families are honored in elaborate funerals and placed in beautiful family crypts which are often mini-versions of ancient temples or buildings of symbolic importance. Though the living periodically visit the tombs of the deceased, the deceased is not venerated as an ancestor. This type of elaborate funerary display is one way higher-status social segments distinguish themselves from others (Cannon 1989). Likewise, the Conchopata mortuary complexes may represent family crypts of high-status families. In this case, high-status family crypts would be symbolic and visual demonstrations of links to powerful ancestors. The ability to assert descent from a powerful lineage or ancestor can strengthen one's claim to power and would also be important for status maintenance and justification of power. Along similar lines, Drennan (1995:95) argues that one means by which leaders establish and maintain power is by linking themselves to their descendants who were powerful and effective leaders. This way of evoking ancestors of the past to justify claims in the present is not the same as ancestor veneration.

According to the McAnany model, only adults could become venerated ancestors. Therefore, the McAnany model would predict that the Conchopata mortuary structures should not contain the remains of children or infants, or at the very least should not accord special treatment to individuals who did not live to see adulthood. However, another version of ancestor veneration might be one in which all deceased family members were considered ancestors. If

children or infants figure prominently in the mortuary complexes at Conchopata, then all members of high-status families could have potentially become venerated ancestors.

Another possibility is that the mortuary complexes represent *chullpa* interment common in the Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1000-1470). In the highland Andes, *chullpas* were above-ground houses for the dead where important *ayllu* ancestors were kept. Whereas in McAnany's model ancestor shrines are located within the domestic realm, *chullpas* were placed in public locales, often overlooking a village. This difference in location is meaningful; keeping ancestors in domestic shrines was important in terms of status-building strategies whereas placing them in *chullpas* located in the surrounding landscape was important in making land claims and defining community lands. Ancestor mummies housed in *chullpas* belonged to the entire community rather than to a single family or lineage, and they were kept in highly visible locations on the landscape making them accessible to all community members (Hyslop 1977). *Chullpas* were constructed to allow easy access to ancestor mummies, which needed to be fed or taken out periodically to participate in festivals or ceremonies. If Conchopata mortuary complexes represented an early form of *chullpa* interment, then they may have held the remains of important community leaders rather than ancestors of a single lineage.

According to the McAnany model, either adult males or females could become venerated ancestors, and these ancestors received elaborate burial treatment which included special offerings or fancy grave goods. However, many of the mummies housed in *chullpas* were adult males who had been important *ayllu* founders or lineage heads in life. Because the mummies were treated as alive, *chullpa* grave goods consisted of items necessary for day-to-day living such as modest household items or craft implements. If the grave goods represented in the Conchopata mortuary complexes do not differ qualitatively from artifacts represented in

household contexts and the skeletal remains are predominantly of adult males, then these complexes may represent an early form of the *chullpa*.

Finally, the Conchopata mortuary complexes may represent ancestor veneration akin to that of the prehispanic Moche (A.D. 100-800) who dominated Peru's north coast. Unlike the Inka who treated their important ancestors as alive and kept them in the world of the living, the Moche buried their dead in tombs that were inaccessible to the living (Donnan 1995; Millaire 2004). Like the Wari, Moche burial practices were diverse, with individuals being buried beneath house floors, in cemeteries, and in sacred places such as temple mounds (Millaire 2004; Shimada et al. 2004). Despite the differences in mortuary practices between those of the Inka and the Moche, the evidence suggests that the Moche also practiced ancestor veneration (Millaire 2004). The Moche practices of delayed burials, periodic grave reopenings, and secondary burials indicate "a belief in the enduring character of human remains" (Millaire 2004:377). The Moche periodically reopened graves in order to remove specific human bones from skeletons, remove the entire skeleton, or place secondary human offerings into the grave. The manipulation of human remains suggests that the bones of certain individuals, perhaps ancestors, were a source of power for some of Moche's living who may have used these bones to influence events in their own lives (Millaire 2004:386).

Potentially, in any of the above cases, the associated residences belonged to priests or mortuary specialists. Tung & Cook (2006) argue that Conchopata had mortuary specialists who specifically took part in ceremonies associated with the manipulation of trophy heads in Conchopata's D-shaped structures. However, the McAnany model predicts that the residences associated with the mortuary complexes would be those of high-status households. To the south of the mortuary complexes at Conchopata are two D-shaped temples. If the residences

associated with the mortuary complexes are not those of high-status households, they may have been dwellings of priests or mortuary specialists who managed rituals associated with the burial and/or veneration of important Conchopata leaders.

The McAnany model thus provides a useful construct with which to organize the investigation of deathways at Conchopata. The results of this research are not expected to be entirely consistent with the McAnany model. Some of the most interesting findings should be those that deviate from the model and/or from the alternative scenarios proposed above. It is how the Conchopata patterns might differ from those specified in the McAnany model that could provide insight into the unique historical and cultural elements of Wari sociopolitical life and deathways.

1.7. Research Objectives

If, as McAnany argues, mortuary activity was one means through which social inequality and political power found expression, then mortuary rituals conducted by high-status households at Conchopata should be different from those practiced by lower-status social segments. Isbell (2004:3) argues that ancestor veneration at Conchopata was solely practiced by the extended families living in the high-status residential compounds. Further, he suggests that only Wari's "higher-status dead were in continued relationships with the living" (2004:27).

At Conchopata, Mortuary Complexes "A" and "B," presumably located within high-status residential compounds, are argued to be places where ancestors were venerated. Did ancestor veneration take place within these mortuary complexes? Did only high-status families venerate their dead? In order to assess these two questions, part of this research requires identifying high-status households at Conchopata. Additionally, this research investigates

whether the Conchopata mortuary complexes were a means through which social inequality and political power found expression. Therefore, among the questions to be investigated are:

1) Are the Conchopata mortuary complexes consistent with the type of ancestor veneration described by McAnany? If so, there should be evidence for protracted burial rites such as the presence or absence of specific skeletal parts within tombs or niches, and/or evidence for the performance of reaffirmation rituals such as feasting activities or sacrificial dedications. Since only certain individuals became venerated ancestors upon their death, we would also expect to see marked gender and age biases in burials receiving the most elaborate treatment. Finally, funerary structures housing important ancestors should show evidence for continued interaction with the ancestors such as reuse, expansion, and/or remodeling of the mortuary structure (McAnany 1995).

2) Who was living in the residences directly associated with the mortuary complexes? The McAnany model predicts that these residences would be of high-status. If so, then these residential compounds should yield independent evidence of higher status and wealth than other site residences. In addition, high-status households would be expected to engage in more ceremonial practices or different kinds of ritual than low-status Conchopata households.

Archaeologists have developed a variety of ways of distinguishing interhousehold status/wealth differences. The dwellings of a wealthy or higher status social segment are generally larger than the houses of commoners because they housed more people such as extended families and servants, engaged in more ceremony and ritual, and/or took part in specialized activities (Elson & Covey 2006; Hendon 1991; Hirth 1993; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Smith 1987; Stark & Hall 1993; Wilk & Rathje 1982). Therefore, if the Conchopata residences in question were of high-status, they may exhibit larger houses, as exhibited by greater floor

space; higher proportions of serving vessels used in feasting activities; higher proportions of prestige items such as turquoise beads or fancy pottery; higher proportions of exotic goods such as *Spondylus* shells from Ecuador; houses more elaborate architecturally or built of higher quality construction material; dedicatory deposits such as caches of luxury items or animal sacrifices; and/or specific areas set aside for specialized activities such as ancestor veneration (Hendon 1991; Hirth 1993; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Smith 1987; Stark & Hall 1993; Wilk & Rathje 1982).

3) How does the treatment of the dead in the mortuary complexes differ from the treatment of other dead at Conchopata? According to the McAnany model, the death rituals associated with the mortuary complexes should be qualitatively different from those practiced at other areas of the site. It is expected that the places where ancestors of high-status households were kept were more elaborate and better furnished than those of low-status households. For example, important ancestors in high-status residences may have been kept in special shrines whereas in low-status residences they may have been buried underneath house floors (McAnany 1995:53, 55). In addition, if the mortuary complexes housed individuals of high-status, they may exhibit evidence for higher proportions of prestige goods or exotics; greater investment in preparing the body (for example, wrapping the body in textiles or adorning the body with jewelry); and/or higher proportions of grave goods (Binford 1971; Brown 1981; Carmichael 1995; Donnan 1995; Elson & Covey 2006; ; McHugh 1999; O'Shea 1984; Pader 1982; Peebles & Kus 1977; Renfrew & Bahn 2000; Storey 1992; Tainter 1978).

1.8. Significance

The Conchopata research provided the first opportunity to investigate the potential role of mortuary display in Wari political statecraft and social differentiation. Because of severe

looting, there has been little systematic investigation of Wari mortuary behavior, as distinct from descriptions of grave goods. At Conchopata, the association of mortuary structures with residential compounds affords a unique opportunity to explore Wari sociopolitical dynamics.

Outside of the arguments for ancestor veneration among Wari's higher-status social segments (Cook 1992; Isbell 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002; McEwan 1998; Topic & Topic 2000; Valdez et al. 2002), very little is known about whether or how lower-status social segments among the Wari venerated their ancestors. Nor is it known how widespread the practice of ancestor veneration was among other Andean peoples during the Middle Horizon. This study hopes to at least shed light on the practice of ancestor veneration by lower-status social segments in the Wari Empire.

In addition, this study also aims at contributing towards a greater understanding of the origins of Andean social organization. *Ayllus* were corporate kin groups that shared descent from a founding ancestor and were internally ranked based on closeness or distance from that ancestor. Even today, many contemporary native Andean peoples are organized into *ayllus*, sharing descent from a founding ancestor and cooperating in production (Bastien 1995; Kolata 1996; Salomon 1995). This type of sociopolitical structure based on kinship has been projected into the past as one of the main organizing principles of ancient Andean societies (Isbell 1997; Kolata 1993; Moseley 1992; Silverman 1993).

One implication of the McAnany model is that the type of ancestor veneration described for the ancient Maya is intimately connected to lineage organization. Generally, ancestor veneration is an important practice in societies based on lineage or descent group organization (Bastien 1995; Bloch 1981; Dillehay 1995b; Harris 1982; Mabuchi 1976; Miller 1976; Pearson 1999:26; Pærregaard 1987; Salomon 1991 & 1995; Uchendu 1976; Urioste 1991; Wolf 1976). If

investigations at Conchopata reveal patterns that follow the McAnany model, this would be strong evidence for the existence of lineage organization in the Middle Horizon, at least among the higher status social segments, and strong evidence that these groups were basic social units of political competition and dynamics. Though this type of social organization is consistent with ethnohistoric accounts of the Inka and Late Intermediate Period societies (Conrad & Demarest 1984; Davies 1995; Hyslop 1990; Isbell 1997; Patterson 1991; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999; Silverblatt 1987), patterns of ethnohistorically known social organization cannot simply be projected into the ancient past. This research project represents an archaeologically-based investigation of this issue.

McAnany's model predicts that elites will, in general, be more concerned than nonelites with all types of status display. If special mortuary structures were only found within high-status residential contexts, this would suggest that the construction of special mortuary structures to house powerful ancestors and the rituals associated with the veneration of these ancestors were important expressions of status display among high-status social segments. As McAnany (1995:162) comments, the "practice of ancestor veneration ultimately is not about the dead but about how the living make use of the dead." As we learn more about the mortuary complexes at Conchopata and about the residences associated with them, we will gain a better sense of how interaction with the dead was associated with social and political power, and what statements were being made in mortuary display.

2. CONCHOPATA AND THE WARI EMPIRE

2.1. The Wari Empire

The Wari, along with Tiwanaku, were one of two powers that dominated the Andean highlands during the Middle Horizon Period (ca. A.D. 500-1000) several hundred years before the rise of the Inca Empire (Isbell 2001a; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002; Isbell & McEwan 1991; Schreiber 1992, 2005). At its height, it encompassed an area extending from Cerro Baúl in southern Peru to Viracochapampa in northern Peru. Wari expansion throughout the Andean highlands employed strategies of empire consolidation that included both direct and indirect rule of newly conquered regions (Jennings & Álvarez 2001; Jennings & Craig 2001; McEwan 2005:161; Nash & Williams 2005; Schreiber 1992, 2005).

The Wari capital was located at the site of Wari in the Ayacucho Valley near the present-day city of Ayacucho in the central highlands. While the Tiwanaku state was centered in the Lake Titicaca basin in Bolivia, the two states co-existed for two or three centuries in the southern highlands of Peru in the Moquegua Valley (Nash & Williams 2005; Owen & Goldstein 2001; Williams 2001; Williams, et al. 2001; Williams & Nash 2002).

The Wari state developed sometime during the early Middle Horizon period. By A.D. 600, Wari was a state-level society, having developed out of the Huarpa culture of the Early Intermediate Period (370 B.C.-A.D. 540; Isbell 1987b, 1988; Isbell & Schreiber 1978; Menzel 1964; Lumbreras 1974; Cook & Glowacki 2003:175). According to Menzel (1968), the Wari Empire underwent two major expansion phases, the first during Epoch 1 (~A.D. 600-700) and the second during Epoch 2 (~A.D. 700-800). Between A.D. 600-700, the Wari began imperial expansion, maintaining control until about A.D. 1000 (Cook & Glowacki 2003:176; Isbell & Cook 2002; Schreiber 1992:77-8). The second expansion was marked by the spread of secular design motifs on pottery, as opposed to depictions of more religious designs such as the Front

Face Deity and winged attendants during Epoch 1. Epochs 3 and 4 (~A.D. 800-1000) were associated with the decline and collapse of the Wari Empire (Menzel 1968; Williams 2001:68).

Menzel's (1968) interpretation of Wari expansion undertaken in Epoch 1 based on ceramic styles closely parallels scenarios of Wari expansion during the same time period as the result of climate changes (Glowacki & Malpass 2003; Magilligan & Goldstein 2001). A severe drought occurring in the 6th c. A.D. and lasting into the early 7th c. A.D. is hypothesized as motivation for Wari expansion outside of the heartland in search of water sources and farmlands. Part of this expansion is argued to have involved the implementation of a religious complex designed to invoke the favor of the ancestors and other deities to restore agricultural fertility (Glowacki & Malpass 2003:443).

2.1.1. Wari, the capital

From its urban capital at the site of Wari, the Wari Empire dominated the Andes through a series of military conquests, setting up a string of administrative centers that were connected by an extensive system of roads (Richardson 1994:33; Schreiber 1987a:91, 1992; Williams & Nash 2002:243). The capital city of Wari was dominated by multi-storied buildings, and it occupied an area of 3 km² and housed up to 70,000 people at its height (Cook & Glowacki 2003:176; Isbell 1984:98, 1986:191, 1988:168-173; Isbell et al. 1991:24, 51).

The architectural core of the Wari capital covered between 200 to 300 hectares and was located between 2600 to 3000 meters above sea level. Remnants of terraces on surrounding hillsides attest to the importance of dry farming to feed the urban population (Benavides 1991:55; Isbell, et al. 1991:20). At Wari, architecture emphasized privacy and restricted access (Schreiber 2005:135). It was a densely populated city but had no obvious downtown area (Isbell & Vranich 2004:180-1). Streets were narrow, few in number, and located between high-walled

enclosures. In fact, it is unclear how inhabitants navigated through the city (Isbell & Vranich 2004:177-8). This pattern is also found at Conchopata, where the site is covered with rooms abutting each other and lacks clear streets, walkways, or paths.

2.1.2. Architectural Features of Wari Sites

Wari corporate architecture was defined by great walled rectangular enclosures, multistoried buildings, large open patios, patio groups, and D-shaped structures. Wari architecture also favored an orthogonal cellular design characterized by small repetitive rooms and patios enclosed by high walls standing 8 to 10 meters (Isbell, et al. 1991; Isbell & Vranich 2004:175). This architecture was replicated in the several administrative centers found throughout the Andean highlands, most visibly in centers that administered direct control over the local population (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989b:24-6; Isbell et al. 1991; Isbell & Vranich 2004; Jennings & Álvarez 2001; Schreiber 1992, 2005; Williams 2001:68).

D-shaped structures were ceremonial buildings, most likely temples, whose ground plan was shaped like a “D” with entry into the temple through a door in the flat side. D-shaped structures were sometimes located in large, walled buildings and surrounded by small rooms and courtyards (Isbell 2001a; Isbell & Vranich 2004:176). The ceremonial nature of D-shaped structures is based on their association with feasting activity or mortuary ritual (Benavides 1991; Cook 2001:138; Isbell & Vranich 2004:180; Ochatoma & Cabrera 2001, 2002; Pérez 2001; Tung 2003; Williams 2001:71). Not everyone was allowed into, or had access to, D-shaped structures. In fact, activities carried out within these structures may have been limited to individuals of high-status. The Vegachayoc Moqo sector at Wari, which has been interpreted as the palace of a Wari ruler (Isbell 2006; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179), contained a large D-shaped structure within its walls.

Elites carried out administrative activities and lived in Wari patio groups (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Cook & Glowacki 2003:186; Isbell 1989; Isbell et al. 1991:45; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179; McEwan 1991, 1998:69; Nash 2003:41). Recently, Isbell (2001a:25-7, 2001b, 2002, 2004, 2006; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) has argued that Wari patio groups, at least those located outside the Wari capital, were palaces. Wari patio groups have been found at several Wari sites. They consist of long, narrow, rectangular rooms (galleries) enclosing an open patio. The side galleries were probably used for domestic activity such as food preparation and storage (Isbell et al. 1991:42). In addition to administrative activities such as feasting, daily domestic activities took place in the central patios (Cook & Glowacki 2003:185; Glowacki 2002:279; Isbell 1991:40).

Sites with large, planned rectangular enclosures such as Azángaro, Pikillacta, and Jincamocco were probably Wari administrative centers (Anders 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 1991; McEwan 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1998; Schreiber 1987a, 1987b, 1991, 1992; J. Topic 1991; Topic & Topic 2001). These planned enclosures contained small repetitive rooms, courtyards, and patio groups. The small repetitive rooms may have housed seasonal laborers or a military garrison (Anders 1986a:214; McEwan 1991:117). The presence of large, planned administrative sites in regions outside of the Wari heartland is argued to be evidence of direct Wari control (Jennings & Craig 2001; Schreiber 1992).

2.1.3. Identification of Wari elites

Like the rulers of the Indus civilization (Kenoyer 1998) and urban Teotihuacan (Manzanilla 1997), Wari rulers remain faceless and anonymous. Despite the anonymity of Wari rulers, Isbell (2006:54-61) argues that the Vegachayoq Moqo complex at the capital was the palace of a Wari

king and the nearby multi-level, underground, megalithic, mortuary complex located in the Monjachayoq sector was a royal tomb.

Wari patio groups were used for both domestic and administrative functions by elites. The Moraduchayuq compound at the Wari capital was comprised of at least seven Wari patio groups. Moraduchayuq residents are identified as high-status based on the presence of feasting activity, the presence of a high percentage of finely made ceramics and luxury items, and a lack of evidence for craft production within the compound suggesting the occupants were consumers of finished products rather than producers of craft items (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989b:24-6; Isbell et al. 1991).

Wari patio groups have been found at several other Wari sites throughout the Andes (Anders 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 1991; Isbell 1989, 2006; Isbell & Cook 2002; McEwan 1987, 1991, 2005; Schreiber 1991, 1991; Williams 2001). Isbell (2006:64-68; Isbell & Cook 2002) argues that Wari patio groups, specifically those located outside of the Wari capital, were palaces based on several characteristics they share with Inka palaces such as the presence of outer plazas and inner patios, perimeter walls, associated buildings with special administrative functions, and associated elite residential compounds.

Besides the presence of a Wari patio group, how are Wari elites distinguished from the lower-status social segments in the archaeological record? One way Wari elites have been inferred is through the presence of feasting activity. Elites were responsible for sponsoring large-scale feasting events to reward laborers or entertain state officials (Cook 2004:156; Cook & Glowacki 2003:182; Lau 2002:280). The presence of a high percentage of serving vessels (70% or more of the ceramic assemblage) compared to food preparation or storage vessels are indicative of feasting activity (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Cook & Glowacki 2003;

Isbell et al. 1991:45; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179). Cook & Glowacki (2003) argue that feasting activity occurred at the Wari capital, Jargampata, Pikillacta, Huaro, and Conchopata based on high percentages of serving vessels found in patio groups.

The dwellings of Wari elites have also been identified based on a high percentage or presence of luxury goods. In some instances, these luxury goods were found in Wari patio groups (Brewster-Wray 1983; Isbell et al. 1991; Schreiber 1991) and in other cases in residential areas that were constructed in a more organic fashion (Anders 1986).

Finally, Wari elites are identified based on differences in mortuary treatment as discussed in Chapter 3. A burial typology developed from Conchopata mortuary data (Isbell 2004:27; Isbell & Cook 2002) describes low-status individuals buried in simple pits with few or no grave goods, "middle-class" individuals buried in sub-floor cists or within walls, and elites buried in bedrock tombs or special mortuary rooms.

2.1.4. Current Evidence for Wari Ancestor Veneration

This research explores the representation and legitimation of social differences through mortuary behavior. Specifically, the practice of ancestor veneration implies that certain individuals or segments of society held higher status than others. In other words, only certain individuals could become venerated ancestors. According to Isbell (in Isbell & Cook 2002:288), only Wari elite dead could become venerated ancestors, and specifically at Conchopata the veneration of ancestors was "focused on deceased elites, who were probably polygynous household heads."

A number of researchers (Cook 1992; Isbell 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002; McEwan 1998; Topic & Topic 2000; Valdez et al. 2002) have argued for Wari ancestor veneration. Because of the different lines of evidence used, the various reconstructions of ancestor veneration indicate

that ancestors were venerated in many different ways. In other words, the practice of ancestor veneration was not standardized across the Wari Empire.

For example, Cook (1992:358) suggests that the personification of Wari mummy bundles is one line of evidence supporting the argument for ancestor veneration. Mummy bundles dating to the Middle Horizon have been found on the Peruvian coast in the Ica-Nasca region (Vreeland 1998:163). These mummy bundles consisted of a tightly flexed human body seated on a base. The body was bundled up in layers of cotton and textiles, and a tunic was placed over the entire bundle. A false head was constructed atop the bundle onto which was fixed eyes, nose, a wig, and a hat. Lack of similar mummy bundles from the Andean highlands may simply be the result of poor preservation.

Another line of evidence in support of Wari ancestor veneration is the presence of niched halls. Niched halls have been found at two planned Wari sites, Viracochapampa to the far north and Pikillacta to the far south of the Wari capital. Niched halls were long, rectangular structures with interior niches located in the walls. Ancestor veneration is argued to have taken place in niched halls based on the presence of feasting activity in the form of food remains and ceramic assemblage, offering deposits found beneath the floors that contained luxury items, and secondary human skeletal remains such as skulls found in below-floor pits (McEwan 1987:39, 1991:108-9, 1998:80; Topic & Topic 1992, 2000:188-90).

McEwan (1998:84) argues that the Wari state co-opted local lineages through fictive kinship ties in order to integrate conquered peoples into the political and social domains. Niched halls were places where Wari ancestors and those of their fictive kin were feted and venerated. He (1998:69) further argues that the Wari also used ancestor veneration as “an element of statecraft in controlling their empire.” For example, one possible use of the administrative center

of Pikillacta, with its numerous niched halls and conjoined rooms, was as a storage depot for ancestor mummy bundles taken from local groups to keep these groups in line (2005:161).

On the other hand, Topic and Topic (2000) suggest that the purpose of the niched hall at Viracochapampa was to house the important ancestral remains of surrounding local lineages who came together periodically to participate in feasting activities and other ceremonies. This interpretation is in line with Isbell's (2004:29) argument that if ancestors were venerated in niched halls, then this type of veneration was not a Wari state practice but a tradition of local groups.

There are no niched halls at the Wari capital, but a large wall located west of the D-shaped structure in the Vegachayoq sector contained several niches within which human remains were found (Bragayrac 1991:78). One niche held four individuals, with modified skulls, seated in a flexed position. Human remains were also found within this large wall. In fact, the Vegachayoq D-shaped structure itself had 18 niches located along its interior wall. The Vegachayoq Moqo sector has been interpreted as the palace of one of Wari's ruler (Isbell 2006; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179) or Wari's main temple complex (Bragayrac 1991:80). In either case, if the niches in the D-shaped structure or the large west wall held the remains of ancestors or ancestor mummy bundles, then the veneration of these ancestors was closely associated physically with Wari elites and/or religious specialists.

A third line of evidence used to argue that the Wari practiced ancestor veneration is the presence of accessible tombs. At the Middle Horizon sites of Seqllas and Posoqoykata located in the Ayacucho Valley about 16 km north of the Wari capital, Valdez et al. (2002) uncovered burial chambers containing Wari ceramic vessels that were accessible through small doorways that were closed off by stone slabs. These burial chambers contained the remains of several

individuals, including adults, children and infants. Unlike *chullpas* which are located aboveground, the Seqllas and Posoqoykata mortuary chambers were set into the ground on the side of a hill but were accessible through small doorways. Valdez et al. (2002:402) conclude that the accessibility of these chambers, the assumption that they contained related members of a kin group, and the accompanying artifacts, indicate that these chambers held the remains of important ancestors. Other accessible mortuary chambers, though different in form from the Seqllas and Posoqoykata tombs, have been uncovered at Conchopata and the Wari capital (Isbell 2004:15, 18).

The accessible Wari mortuary chambers described above for Seqllas and Posoqoykata differ from the well-known *chullpa* form of mortuary interment. In the ancient Andes, *chullpas* were accessible, aboveground, mortuary towers or houses that housed important ancestors (Hyslop 1977; Isbell 1997:30). Though the Wari did not construct *chullpas*, the populations it incorporated into its empires did. *Chullpas* found at Wari sites are interpreted as the burial traditions of local populations incorporated into the Wari Empire (DeLeonardis & Lau 2004; Isbell 1989, 1991; Lau 2002). Before the Wari moved into the Callejón de Huaylas region in north-central Peru, individuals were buried in accessible, subterranean tombs suggesting that these individuals were venerated as ancestors (Lau 2002:291-2). With increasing interaction with the Wari Empire, aboveground *chullpas* became the preferred burial type of local groups. This change in burial treatment correlates with Wari expansion into the Callejón de Huaylas region, specifically at the site of Honcopampa (Lau 2002:299). Though Wari influence in the Callejón de Huaylas region is argued to have been indirect (Isbell 1991; Jennings & Craig 2001), many settlements in the region were probably not immune to the effects of Wari expansion efforts. Thus, this new way of venerating ancestors in highly visible *chullpas* in conjunction

with growing Wari influence suggests attempts by local groups to lay claim to territory (Lau 2002:301) and "defend kin group interests" in the face of centralized authority (Isbell 1997:16).

As indicated above, residents maintained the local mortuary tradition of *chullpa* interment at the Wari site of Honcopampa located in the Callejón de Huaylas of Peru not far from Chinchawas. Wari presence at Honcopampa is evidenced by the presence of Wari corporate architecture, including both D-shaped structures and patio groups. Yet, the local *chullpa* form of burial interment was maintained (Isbell 1989, 1991). Wari control at Honcopampa was indirect; ties to the Wari state were a source of power and prestige for local elites who built Wari temples and residential structures in the state style but maintained their own traditions, such as the veneration of important ancestors who were housed in open, accessible *chullpas*, rather than in Wari style tombs.

Thus, during the Middle Horizon, some local groups that maintained indirect relations with the Wari state kept their ancestors in publicly visible, aboveground *chullpas* accessible to the entire community (DeLeonardis & Lau 2004; Isbell 1989, 1991; Lau 2002) whereas Wari ancestors were kept in below-floor tombs in rooms that were accessible to a chosen few. This difference in tomb location and accessibility suggests differences in the meaning and purpose of the practice of ancestor veneration. Unlike mummies or mummy bundles kept in *chullpas*, Wari ancestors could not be taken from their tombs to be paraded around in community ceremonies. Access to Wari ancestral tombs was restricted, probably only to family members related to the ancestors (Isbell 2004:28).

A fourth line of evidence arguing for the practice of ancestor veneration among the Wari is the presence of small, above-ground structures within which individuals were buried or that were built over subfloor tombs. These above-ground structures are referred to by Isbell (in Isbell

& Cook 2002:285) as “offering houses.” At Conchopata, offering houses are small rectangular structures, which were probably roofed, built above tombs that had small openings like tiny doorways that allowed access into the interior; these offering houses also had offering holes that allowed direct access to the tomb below. More modest versions of offering houses placed above subfloor tombs have been found at Batan Urqu (Zapata 1997:168-9).

The most elaborate versions of offering houses are only found at the Wari capital and were in the form of megalithic stone chambers. These stone chambers did not have small doorway-like openings but did have offering holes. Sparsely scattered human skeletal fragments associated with these stone offering houses provide evidence that they were tombs. Because of the labor that went into the construction of these stone tombs, they are argued to have housed the remains of important Wari elites (Benavides 1991:5608; Isbell 1998:5-6).

A final argument for Wari ancestor veneration is evidence for the offering of libations (Cook 1992:358). At several Wari sites, a handful of tomb capstones have holes or notches in them referred to as offering holes. Through these holes or notches the living could make offerings to the dead (Cook 1992; Isbell 2004:9; Isbell & Cook 2000). Or, perhaps the offering holes functioned as a "communication hole" through which the living could communicate with the dead (Isbell & Cook 2000), serving a similar function as the "psychoduct" in Pacal's tomb at Palenque that led to the outside world (Coe 1975:102). Isbell (2004:27) notes that capstone offering holes are only found in elite tombs because only Wari's high-status ancestors "were in continued relationships with the living."

The several lines of evidence used to argue for ancestor veneration among the Wari may indicate that ancestor veneration manifested itself in several different ways and that its practice varied along class and geographic lines. Despite the evidence that at least some Wari dead were

bundled into mummies (Cook 1992, Vreeland 1998), Isbell (2004:28-9) provides several lines of evidence to discount the possibility that Wari ancestor veneration was akin to that of the Inka who publicly displayed important ancestor mummies and participated with them in ceremonies and rituals. Wari burials and tombs were not conducive to the preservation of mummy bundles. In addition, the entrances or openings to tombs that were accessible were usually not large enough to remove and replace large mummy bundles with ease. In fact, most Wari tombs were not accessible once sealed, and would have to be damaged or destroyed to remove their occupants. Finally, the presence of incomplete skeletons in intact tombs at Conchopata suggests that the bones of important ancestors were removed; the Inka did not remove body parts of their ancestor mummies. Thus, the manner in which the Wari rulers related to their ancestors was qualitatively different from that of the Inka.

2.2. The Research Site: Conchopata

2.2.1. Site Description

Conchopata is located in the Ayacucho Valley on a flat ridge at about 2700 meters above sea level. The environment is arid though the surrounding slopes were terraced and irrigation agriculture was productive in the river valleys to the east and west of the site (Pozzi-Escot 1991:81, 84). The archaeological site is located 1.5 km from the center of the present-day city of Ayacucho and about 10 km south of the Wari capital (Cook 1987, 2001; Cook & Benco 2001b; Cook & Glowacki 2003; Isbell 1987a, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002; Pozzi-Escot 1991).

In ancient times, Conchopata covered an area of at least 20 hectares, though only about 3 hectares of the site remain today. The archaeological site is located next to the Ayacucho airport and runway. The airport was initially built in the 1950's and later modernized in 1977. Modern-

day construction of the airport and residential buildings has resulted in the destruction of most of the site. The construction of several houses has been halted, but a few families currently live on the archaeological site. To the north of Conchopata is a military base and to the south modern-day development.

The Conchopata archaeological site is divided into two sectors which lie on either side of a modern road. Sector "A" lies to the west and Sector "B" lies to the east of the road. Sector "A" consists of residential units and workshops (Isbell 2002a; Isbell & Cook 2002:258; Pozzi-Escot 1991). Pozzi-Escot (1991:82) argues that the northern section of Sector "A" was a higher-status residential area based on its finer architectural construction techniques and the southern section was a lower-status area where pottery was produced. Sector "A" also had a D-shaped structure. The far southern section of Sector "A" was used as a cemetery throughout the Middle Horizon (Pozzi-Escot 1991:83), but nothing has been published about this cemetery and the area has been overrun by modern development.

All architectural spaces and artifacts analyzed for the present study were from Sector "B" which has been the focus of most of the excavations carried out at Conchopata since the late 1990's (Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002). Over 150 distinct architectural spaces have been identified to date in Sector "B" (see Figure 3). This zone contains numerous stone walls standing up to 1.0 meter high. Both Sector "A" and Sector "B" are comprised of numerous agglutinated, rectangular rooms. Many of these rooms surrounded interior courtyards. Excavations at Conchopata in the 1990's and early 2000's produced evidence of domestic areas, public plazas, ceramic workshops, temples, and mortuary complexes.

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



2.2.2. General Interpretation

Empires that placed great investment in architecture and infrastructure in regions outside of the imperial core probably exerted direct control over the conquered population (Conrad & Demarest 1984; Schreiber 1992; Sinopoli 1994). Planned administrative centers such as Pikillacta, Azángaro, and Jincamocco are argued to be indicators of direct control by the Wari of the region (Jennings & Álvarez 2001; Jennings & Craig 2001). However, though Conchopata contains several examples of Wari corporate architecture in the form of D-shaped structures and Wari patio groups, it was not a large, planned administrative center. The exact nature of its relationship with the Wari state and the amount of control exerted upon it by the Wari capital is not clear. Conchopata leaders may have maintained cordial relations with the Wari capital and probably benefited from the alliance. But direct rule cannot be ruled out considering that Conchopata was located within the same valley system as the Wari capital.

After the Wari capital, Conchopata was the second most important center in the Ayacucho Valley. Conchopata was first occupied during the Early Intermediate Period by the earlier Huarpa culture and was continuously occupied through at least A.D. 1000 (Isbell 2002a:7; Isbell & Cook 2000:13). Based on the ubiquitous amount of ceramic sherds and pottery production tools found, Conchopata has been interpreted as mainly a pottery production site (Pozzi-Escot 1991). Its role as a center for pottery production probably began in the Early Intermediate Period and lasted through the Middle Horizon (Cook & Benco 2001b; Isbell & Cook 2002:257; Ochatoma & Cabrera 2002; Pozzi-Escot 1991:83; Pozzi-Escot et al. 1998).

Recent interpretations acknowledge that Conchopata was more than a community of artisans. Though a main economic function of Conchopata was pottery production, the resident population was heterogeneous and included not only artisans but also elites and religious

specialists, many of whom may have been involved in some aspect of the commissioning and production of pottery (Cook & Glowacki 2003:186; Cook & Benco 2001a, 2001b; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002; Tung & Cook 2006). Pozzi-Escot (1991) suggests that Conchopata artisans specialized in the production of fine urns and other wares for the Wari state. Isbell (2001b) proposes that Conchopata potters were elites who produced finewares used in important ceremonial events. Along similar lines, Cook and Benco (2001a:490, 2001b) agree that Conchopata potters were members of large elite households, but they interpret these elites as producing not only ceremonial but also domestic pottery. Finally, Leoni (2001) argues that Conchopata potters worked as attached specialists to Wari administrators.

Based on the presence of two Wari patio groups that Isbell (2001a, 2002, 2004:6, 2006) identifies as palaces along with differences in tomb types, he argues that Conchopata inhabitants included high status governors, elites, a middle-class, and servants. Tung and Cook (2006) argue that Conchopata was made up of several intermediate elite households in which elder females were accorded high status; these intermediate elites acted as intermediaries between the Wari state and local inhabitants, and exercised a considerable degree of freedom over their own affairs.

2.2.3. 2002 Research at Conchopata

The present research project was undertaken in 2002 and consisted of two phases, field excavations and artifact analysis. Excavations expanded around the two mortuary complexes and around rooms devoted to mortuary activity that were excavated in prior field seasons. Laboratory work focused on the analysis of ceramics from architectural spaces excavated in 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002.

2.2.3.1. Methodology: Excavations and Artifact Analysis

Thirteen rooms excavated during the 2002 field season were analyzed as part of this study. Another 27 rooms or spaces that were excavated in previous years were also analyzed. The artifacts and features from each room were compared in order to determine similarities and differences between rooms. In a separate analysis, the 40 architectural spaces investigated in this analysis were broken down into five zones (see Figure 3 above, and Table 1 and Figures 4 through 8 below). The artifacts and features from the rooms in each zone were pooled and the five zones compared in order to determine similarities and differences between zones.

Table 1: Architectural spaces grouped by zone

Zone	Architectural Space
1 (located in the southwest of Sector "B")	EA-9, EA-12, EA-187
2 (located in the south of Sector "B")	EA-153, EA-178, EA-179, EA-180
3 (located in the north of Sector "B")	EA-109, EA-110, EA-138, EA-154
4 (located in the east of Sector "B")	EA-148, EA-149, EA-150, EA-181, EA-182, EA-189, EA-191
5 (located in the center of Sector "B")	EA-6, EA-31, EA-36, EA-37, EA-38, EA-39, EA-40A, EA-44A, EA-44B, EA-59, EA-64, EA-88, EA-90, EA-105, EA-132, EA-140, EA-141, EA-142, EA-147, EA-194, EA-195, EA-196

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002

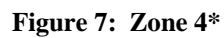
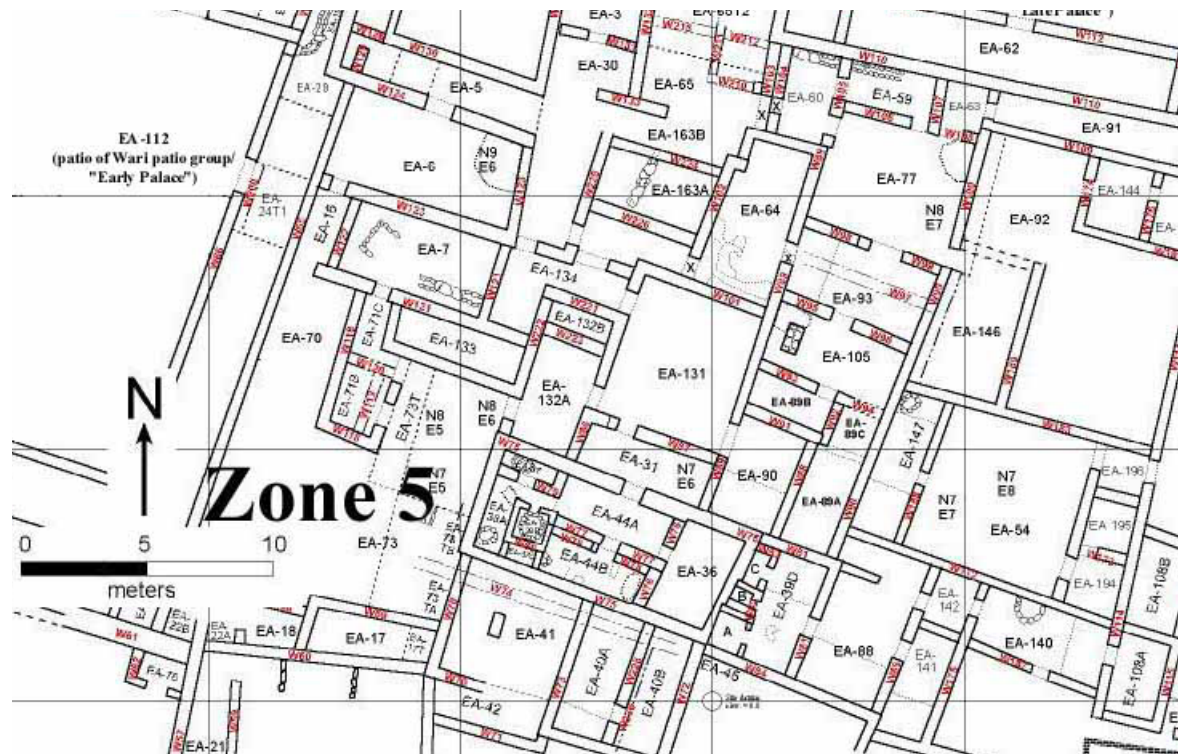


Figure 8: Zone 5*

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



The rooms excavated during the 2002 field season and rooms selected for analysis from previous seasons were chosen based on their proximity to mortuary complexes, their focus on mortuary activity, or if they contained human burials. Additionally, contiguous rooms were excavated in 2002 in order to define residential compounds.

Each room or discrete space was assigned a number. Thus, architectural spaces were designated with the prefix “EA” (*espacio arquitectónico*) and the number assigned to it. The locus system was used during excavations, with each unique context given its own locus number. However, deeper strata were divided into arbitrary 10 or 20 cm levels, with each level receiving a separate locus number. Data from each locus were recorded on a specific set of field forms (see Appendix A and B for examples of field forms used).

Each architectural space was minimally excavated from the ground surface to the first encounter of a floor. The average depth from ground surface to a floor was about one meter. In many cases, the rooms were excavated to bedrock due to the fact that burials and/or offerings were often found beneath floors. In general, each room consisted of three main strata. Stratum 1 contained occasional modern cultural material, numerous ceramic sherds, and a sizeable number of large rocks. Stratum 2 also contained numerous ceramic sherds but fewer large rocks. And Stratum 3 was associated with contexts on or just above the floor. However, in a few cases, entire rooms were filled with a grey ashy soil suggesting the room was intentionally filled with this ashy soil. In rare cases, rooms had a large stratum or section of a yellowish soil containing numerous chunks of diatomaceous rocks. For example, half of EA-39 and half of EA-189 contained this diatomaceous soil with the other half of the rooms filled with the typical earthy brown, rocky soil.

Field logs were used to assign numbers to and record information about special contexts and special find artifacts. Logs were kept to register carbon samples, organic samples, architectural spaces, special finds, loci, and photographs. See Appendix C for examples of field log sheets used. Special finds were designated with the prefix “HE” (*hallazgo especial*) and the number assigned to them. All soils were sieved in the field using ¼-inch screens. Finer mesh screens were used for soils from special or unusual contexts. Samples for radiocarbon dating were systematically collected from each cultural context. Eleven liter soil samples were collected from each locus.

An artifact processing laboratory was maintained in the field. In the field lab, ceramic and stone artifacts were washed, weighed, and retagged. Ceramics and animal bone from each architectural space were weighed by locus. Diagnostic ceramics were separated from

undecorated body sherds, and ceramic vessel reconstruction was assessed. Special finds that were found in the lab were recorded, washed, retagged, and labeled. Additionally, notable special finds were reconstructed and drawn. All artifacts and organic samples collected during excavations are currently stored in the archaeology laboratory at the Universidad Nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga.

An in-depth analysis was carried out on ceramic sherds and vessels (see Appendix F for analysis coding sheets). Because of the vast amounts of pottery recovered from this site, only diagnostic ceramics were analyzed. Diagnostic ceramics included rim sherds, base sherds, decorated body sherds, handles, or sherds that were incised, perforated or molded. Ceramic vessels registered as special finds included whole or reconstructed pots, rim-to-base fragments, or those with unusual design elements or from unusual vessel types.

Counts were taken of other types of special find artifacts (see Appendix E for list of special find categories). Lithic and groundstone artifacts were analyzed by Catherine Bencic of State University of New York at Binghamton as part of her dissertation research. Human bones were analyzed by Dr. Tiffiny Tung of Vanderbilt University and Mark Lichtenfeld of State University of New York at Binghamton. Though the analysis of botanical and faunal remains was not carried out during the 2002 field season, both were systematically collected. Some botanical and faunal remains have been analyzed from previous years, but the results are not included in this research.

2.2.3.2. The Mortuary Complexes

Excavations conducted at Conchopata during the 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002 field seasons were carried out in Sector B (see Figure 3 above). These excavations uncovered burial types ranging from simple interments of single individuals buried in pits, to burials containing multiple

individuals in stone-lined cists or bedrock tombs. These burials were located in several different contexts, for example beneath plazas, beneath the floors of domestic spaces, or within specialized mortuary complexes. These differences in mortuary context suggest that the location of burials at Conchopata was a means of expressing social distinctions (Isbell 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002).

To date, two multi-roomed mortuary complexes, designated as Mortuary Complex "A" and Mortuary Complex "B," have been uncovered. Though all tombs but one (EA-31/Burial #9) were looted, a significant amount of pottery fragments have been recovered in addition to whole vessels and luxury items.

Mortuary Complex "A", which has been completely excavated and consisted of 5 main rooms, measured about 6 x 10 meters (see Figure 9). The exact dimensions of Mortuary Complex "B" are not clear, it was minimally about 6 x 9 meters and this study defines it as consisting of four main rooms (see Figure 10, which shows the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex "B"). Several other rooms at Conchopata that were devoted to mortuary activity were also analyzed; however, there is not enough evidence to conclude that they were part of larger mortuary complexes. All other burials at the site were located beneath residential floors, patios, or plazas.

Figure 9: Schematic design of Mortuary Complex “A”

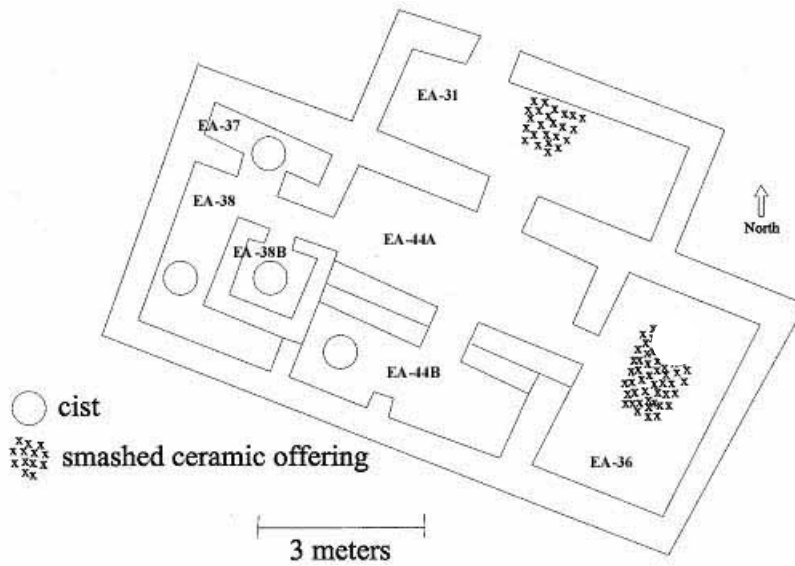
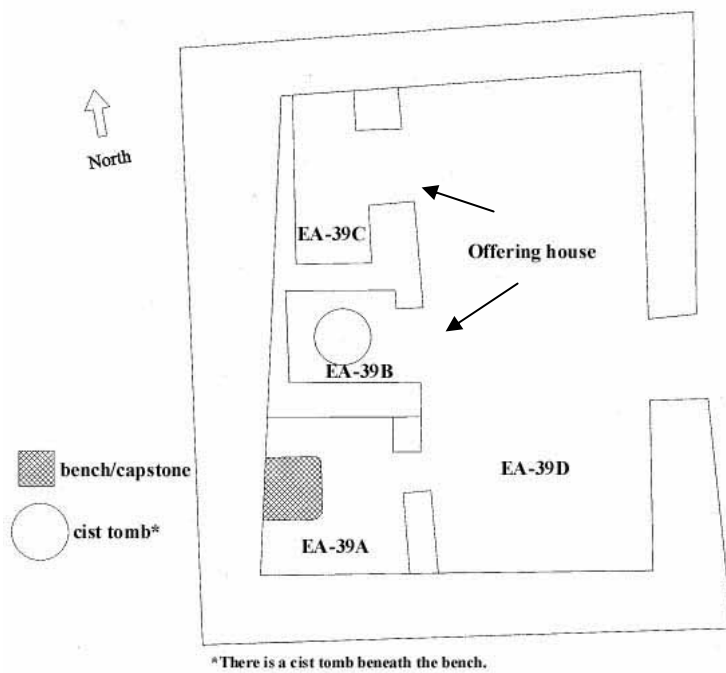


Figure 10: Schematic design of the primary burial chamber in Mortuary Complex “B”



The two mortuary complexes share several similarities (Isbell & Cook 2000; Milliken 2001). Within each mortuary complex, at least one room contained one or two offering houses. Beneath these offering houses were subfloor, usually circular, stone-lined cist tombs containing

the skeletal remains of adults, children, and infants. Among the materials recovered from the mortuary complexes and their tombs were copper shawl pins (*tupus*), elaborately decorated pottery, objects of greenstone and *Spondylus*, and miniature ceramic vessels.

In addition, each mortuary complex contained a variety of tomb types, from stand-alone cist tombs, to bedrock tombs, to cist tombs capped with small offering houses. Mortuary Complex "A" had at least four circular cist tombs and three bedrock tombs. Mortuary Complex "B" had two circular cist tombs, one trapezoidal tomb, two subterranean chambers/tombs, one bedrock tomb, and several infant/child burials. In each mortuary complex, one room was the primary burial chamber where most of the burials were located. Within each primary burial chamber was at least one principal burial that had an offering house above it with an offering hole. Each mortuary complex exhibits evidence for red painted walls and contained human skull fragments with cinnabar on their surfaces.

Finally, both mortuary complexes had smashed ceramic offerings on the floor of at least one room. Within Mortuary Complex "A," huge smashed polychrome vessels were found on the floors of two rooms. One of these rooms (EA-31) had subfloor burials; the other (EA-36) had no burials but contained two pits filled with animal bones. In Mortuary Complex "B," EA-88 had several child/infant burials, contained a smashed ceramic offering on its floor, and had a pit filled with animal bones beneath the smashed ceramic offering. While several caches of smashed ceramic offerings have been found at Conchopata and other Wari sites (Menzel 1968; Ravines Sanchez 1968 and 1977; Isbell and Cook 1987; Cook 1987; Isbell 1987a, Schreiber 1992; Williams, et al., 1998), the smashed ceramic offerings in these mortuary complexes represent the first clear association between ceremonial pot smashes and mortuary activity (Milliken 2000).

The principal tombs in the Conchopata mortuary complexes exhibit similarities to the megalithic stone chambers found in the Cheqo Wasi sector at the Wari capital. In both cases, rectangular structures (the offering houses at Conchopata and the megalithic stone chambers at Cheqo Wasi) housed the remains of the dead. Some of these rectangular structures had semi-circular grooves or offering holes allowing access to the tomb within. At Wari, these rectangular structures were made of stone slabs whereas at Conchopata they were made of stacked fieldstones with a plaster finish. At both Wari and Conchopata, the rectangular structures were enclosed within a larger room or structure.

Despite their similarities, the two Conchopata mortuary complexes differ from one another in several ways (Isbell & Cook 2000; Milliken 2001). For example, one room in Mortuary Complex "B" contained several burials, all exclusively composed of children and infants. Mortuary Complex "A" did not have a similar room. Also, Mortuary Complex "B" had two small subterranean chambers connected by a small entryway which were located beneath the floor in the northern half of the primary burial chamber. None of the rooms in Mortuary Complex "A" had subterranean chambers.

2.3. Residential Areas at Conchopata

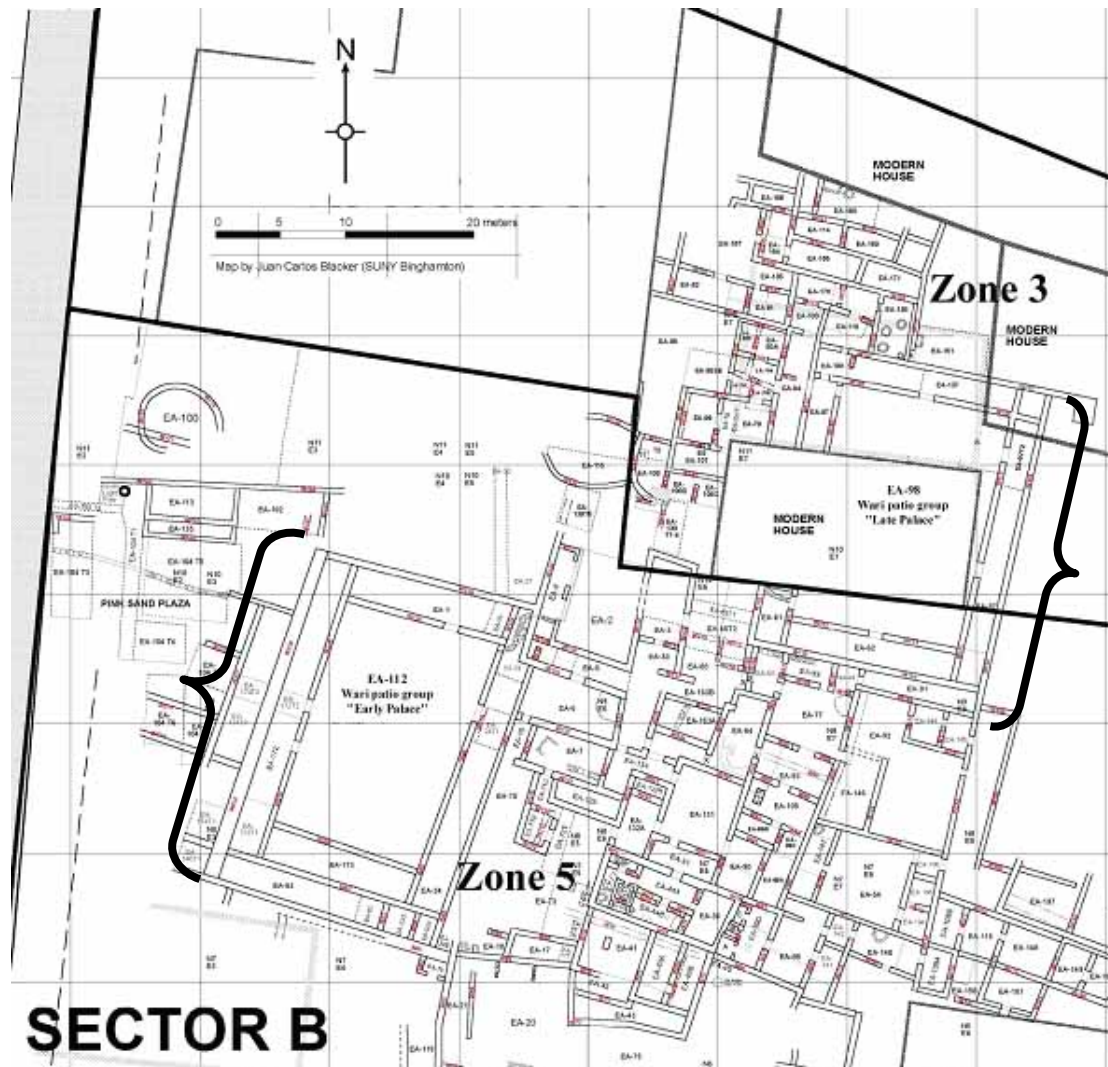
Architecturally, Wari sites are often characterized as a series of agglutinated rooms that are so interconnected that it is often difficult determining how a room functioned or even which rooms made up a single architectural entity such as a residential compound (Isbell & Vranich 2004; McEwan 2005:148). Conchopata is covered with dozens of rooms abutting each other, and it is unclear how inhabitants navigated within the site as it lacks clear streets and walkways. This intricate interconnectedness of rooms makes it difficult to clearly delineate one residential complex from another.

According to Isbell & Cook (2002:292), Sectors A and B comprised Conchopata's downtown, where its important administrative and elite buildings were located and where its high-status activities were carried out. Evidence used to support interpretation include the presence of two Wari patio groups along with their associated elite residential compounds, high-status burials, high-quality artifacts, and ceremonial activity in the form of ceremonial pot-smashing and presence of temples (D-shaped and circular structures).

Isbell (2001a:25-7, 2001b, 2002, 2004, 2006; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) identifies two possible palaces at Conchopata that were located in the central core of the site. They are the hallmark Wari patio groups, with large, open, interior patios flanked on all four sides by long galleries which are divided into smaller, rectangular rooms. Isbell (2001a:22) argues that these palaces were inhabited by kings or chiefs whose kin group specialized in the production of pottery. According to Isbell (in Isbell & Cook 2002:292-4), EA-112 represents the courtyard of the early palace and EA-98 represents that of the late palace (See Figure 11).

Figure 11: Wari patio groups at Conchopata*

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



Isbell (2002a:14) argues that a large elite residential compound composed of several households inhabited by the extended family of Conchopata rulers was associated with each Wari patio group/palace. Each elite residential compound was composed of multiple elite households based on the large size of the compounds and the presence of high-status artifacts and burials within them (Isbell & Cook 2002:292-5). Each household had its own central patio

where domestic activities were carried out and the patio was flanked by small kitchens, storage facilities, and rooms for sleeping.

The elite residential compound associated with the EA-112 patio group/palace is not well-defined. However, it was probably attached to the south wall of EA-112 (Isbell & Cook 2002:292), though very little of this area has been excavated.

The elite residential compound associated with the EA-98 patio group/palace is attached to its south wall. At least two elite households were centered on the central patios representing EA-77 and EA-131, and another household may have been centered on EA-6 (Isbell 2001a:27-8; 2002:14; Isbell & Cook 292-5). The household centered around EA-77 was made up of several rooms including EA-63, EA-93, EA-64, EA-105, EA-60, EA-89, EA-69, and EA-91. EA-63 was a kitchen, EA-89 was used for sleeping, and EA-91 was used for storage. The elite household focused around EA-131 was presumably also made up of several rooms including EA-132, EA-90, EA-134, and Mortuary Complex "A."

Located to the north of the late EA-98 patio group were two rooms, EA-110 and EA-138, which were the focus of mortuary activity. Isbell (in Isbell & Cook 2002:295) argues that these two rooms made up the "largest mortuary room complex" at Conchopata. He further argues that the rooms to the north of EA-98 were not residential but perhaps a locus of administrative activity.

According to Isbell (2002:26-7), residences and workshops were located in the southeastern and southwestern areas of Conchopata. One residence that also functioned as a ceramic workshop was centered on the patio represented by EA-9 (Isbell & Cook 2002:295).

2.4. Identifying Household and Zonal Status/Wealth Differences

According to Isbell (in Isbell & Cook 2002:288), “Veneration of the dead at Conchopata seems to have focused on deceased elites....” Isbell (2004:3) suggests that ancestor veneration at Conchopata was solely practiced by the extended families living in the elite residential compounds that were associated with mortuary complexes. Were ancestors venerated in Mortuary Complexes “A” and “B”? Was ancestor veneration restricted to Wari elites? In order to assess these two questions, part of this research required identifying residential status and wealth differences in order to differentiate high-status from low-status households. And if ancestor veneration was restricted to higher-status households, then the mortuary treatments between high-status and low-status social segments should be qualitatively different.

Few studies have specifically set out to investigate Wari household patterns and very little research is available that describes low-status domestic contexts (e.g., Isbell 1977; Nash 2003). The most thorough investigation of households has come from the excavation of elite Wari patio groups which have been found at several sites such as the Wari capital, Pikillacta, and Cerro Baúl (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989b; Isbell et al. 1991; McEwan 1998; Nash 2003:41; Schreiber 1991). Because of the lack of comparative data between Wari high-status and low-status households, applications of common cross-cultural indicators of archaeological correlates for higher status households are evaluated in order to gauge differences in status and wealth at the household level.

The central patios of Wari patio groups were by elites to carry out administrative and daily domestic tasks and the side galleries used for domestic activity such as food preparation and storage of valuables (Isbell et al. 1991:40, 42). Archaeological evidence used to support the interpretation of Wari patio groups as centers of elite administration and residence includes: evidence of feasting activity in the form of serving vessels; food preparation in the form of

animal remains, stone tools, cooking vessels, and hearths; food consumption in the form of serving vessels and animal remains; storage in the form of jars; subsistence activities such as lithic tool production and weaving; and the presence of prestige goods (Anders 1989:40; Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Glowacki 2002:269-70; Isbell et al. 1991:45; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179; McEwan 1987:54; Schreiber 1991).

Elite presence in domestic areas other than Wari patio groups has been inferred based on higher proportions of prestige goods such as imported pottery, copper implements, greenstone, *Spondylus*, and/or gold (Schreiber 1991). Other indicators of elite status might generally include larger domestic areas, more elaborate architecture, higher percentages of Wari polychrome ceramics; and control over restricted entryways into Wari administrative centers (Anders 1989:40, 1991:190-2; Schreiber 1991).

Nonelites, such as corvee laborers, artisans, or farmers, would have lived in simpler abodes. One interpretation of the dozens of small, standardized, conjoined rooms arranged in rows at Pikillacta and Azángaro is that they were living quarters, perhaps occupied by a military garrison or corvee laborers (Anders 1986a:214; McEwan 1987:53, 1991:117). Evidence supporting habitational use of these conjoined rooms included the presence of utilitarian pottery, hearths, and animal bones (McEwan 1987:52-3, 1991:106-7). The basic domestic unit of artisans or subsistence-level farmers was a small, roofed room adjacent to a small open patio (Nash 2003:50-1; Williams 2001:76). The roofed room often contained a raised platform which functioned as a table or work surface. Some of these domestic units also had storage facilities or workshops.

In sum, if the Conchopata mortuary complexes were places where important ancestors were venerated, then the residential compounds associated with them are expected to have been

inhabited by high-status families. If so, then these residential compounds should yield independent evidence of higher status and wealth compared to other domestic contexts at the site. Several lines of evidence will be considered to assess household status and wealth differences at Conchopata.

First, high-status residences should be larger, better made, and more elaborate than low-status dwellings because they housed more people such as extended families and servants, engaged in more ceremony and ritual, and/or took part in more specialized activities (Hendon 1991; Hirth 1993; Junker et al. 1994; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Santley 1993; Smith 1987; Stark & Hall 1993; Wilk & Rathje 1982). Therefore, if the residential compounds at Conchopata were those of high-status families, they are expected to be larger than low-status domestic contexts as exhibited by greater floor space and more rooms, elaborate architecturally, or built of higher quality construction material.

Second, elites are often involved in greater ceremonial and ritual practices than nonelites. If the Conchopata residential compounds were those of high-status families, there should be evidence of higher proportions of serving vessels used in feasting activities, or the presence of dedicatory deposits containing caches of luxury items or animal sacrifices (Hendon 1991; Hirth 1993; Junker et al. 1994; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Santley 1993; Smith 1987; Stark & Hall 1993; Wilk & Rathje 1982).

Third, elites are likely to have had greater access to prestige and luxury objects. Hence, if the Conchopata residential compounds were those of high-status families, they should contain higher proportions of prestige items such as turquoise beads or fancy pottery and/or higher proportions of exotic goods such as *Spondylus* shells from Ecuador (Hendon 1991; Hirth 1993; Smith 1987).

Fourth, elites are likely to have engaged in more specialized social and economic activities. Thus, if the Conchopata residential compounds were those of high-status families, there should be evidence of specialized activities such as feasting or specific areas set aside for ancestor veneration (Wilk & Rathje 1982; Smith 1987; Hendon 1991; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Hirth 1993; Stark & Hall 1993).

Finally, ancient pre-Hispanic societies sometimes buried their dead beneath house floors or within residential contexts. If both high-status and low-status families buried their dead beneath floors or within the domestic realm at Conchopata, then high-status burials are expected to have been more elaborate and better furnished than low-status burials. For example, high-status families may have buried their dead beneath special shrines, whereas low-status families buried theirs in simple pits underneath house floors (McAnany 1995:53, 55).

3. WARI MORTUARY TREATMENTS

Isbell (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; in Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) and Tung and Cook (2006) have documented nine Wari burial types; this typology was constructed based mainly on burial types uncovered at Conchopata. Of these nine burial types, seven are found at Conchopata, five of which were found in rooms that were investigated in the present research. Table 2 shows the distribution of burial types across zones (see Figure 12 for location of zones). Appendix D provides a discussion of the most common types of Wari ceramic vessels and artifacts found at Conchopata.

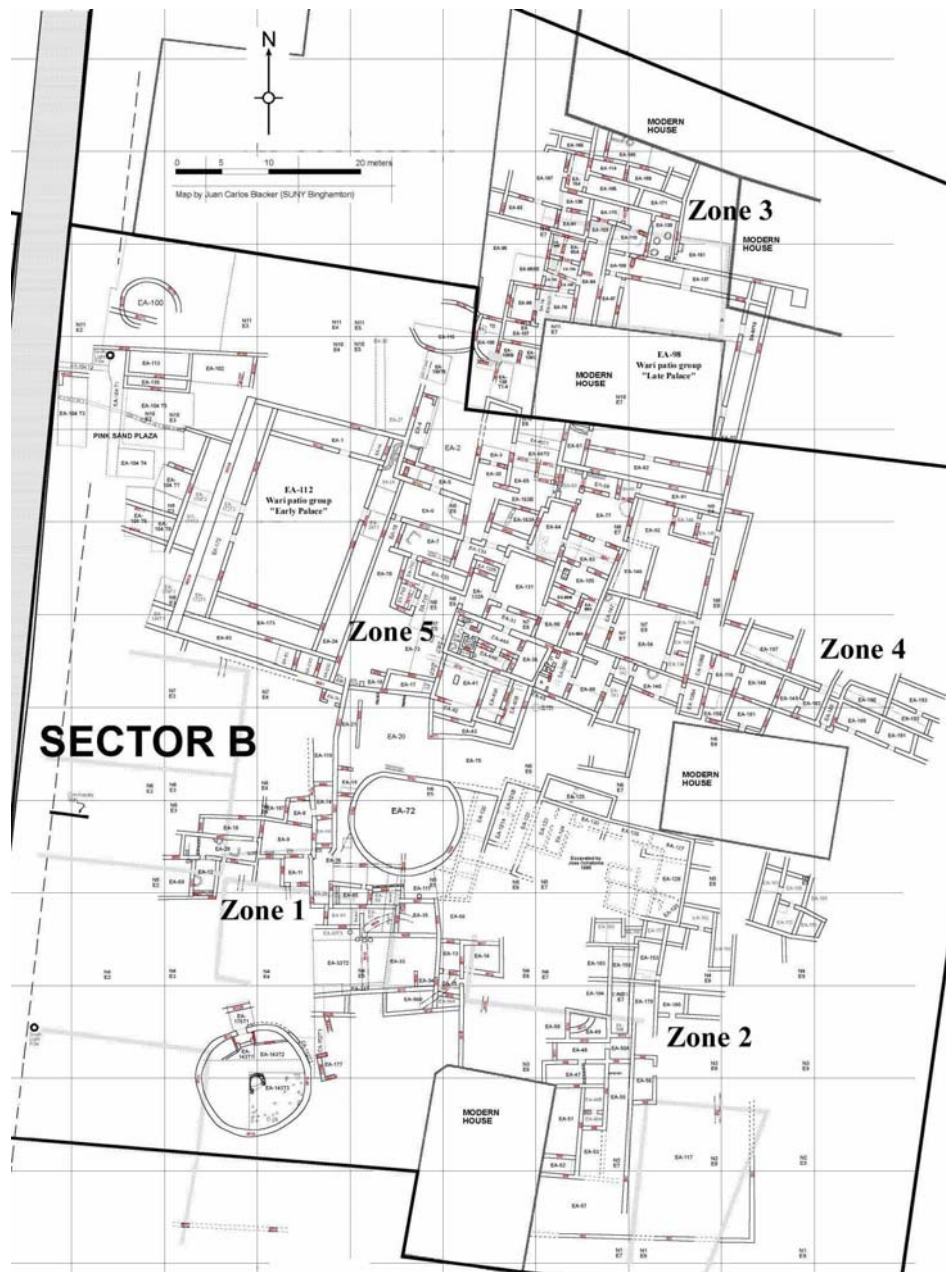
Most of the human skeletal remains were analyzed by Tiffany Tung, Ph.D., of Vanderbilt University. Mark Lichtenfeld of State University of New York at Binghamton analyzed human skeletal remains from rooms excavated in 2002. Tung's (2003:89-90) age groups were defined as follows: fetuses spanned the ages of in utero to birth; infants spanned the ages birth to 3 years; children spanned the ages 4 to 14 years; adolescents spanned the ages of 15 to 19 years; young adults spanned the ages of 20 to 34 years; middle aged adults spanned the ages of 35 to 49 years; old adults spanned the ages of 50+ years; adult bones that could not be specifically aged were categorized as adults aged 20 years or older.

Table 2: Distribution of Wari Burial Types analyzed in the present research across zones

Zone	Wari Burial Types								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1				X					
2				X	X				
3					X				X
4	X				X				
5	X	X		X	X				X

Figure 12: Map of Conchopata showing Zones 1 thru 5*

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



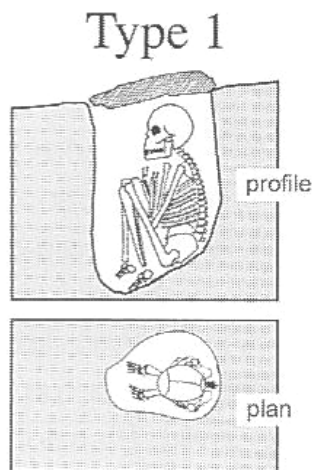
3.1. Wari Burial Type 1

Wari Burial Type 1 (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002; Tung & Cook 2006) represents the interment of a single individual (see Figure 13), usually an adult, placed in a shallow pit dug into the ground. The body was flexed, and either seated or on its side. Some

individuals were wrapped in textile and rope. In some cases, the burials were lined and/or topped with one or two flat stones, or buried with a few grave goods. These burials were found in patios and narrow rooms. This burial type has also been found at the Wari sites of Jargampata and Azángaro.

Figure 13: Wari Burial Type 1*

*from Isbell 2004:10 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



Most examples of Burial Type 1 at Conchopata probably date to the Early Intermediate Period Huarpa period (Isbell 2004:6). Two examples, located in Zones 4 (EA-191/Burial #102) and 5 (EA-6/Burial #41), were analyzed as part of this research.

3.1.1. EA-6

EA-6, located in Zone 5, was probably an open patio. Along the north wall was an intact child burial, Burial #41. This burial was located to the west of a large bedrock tomb (EA-6/Burial #L2004). Burial #41 contained a child sitting in a flexed position with its face looking to the east and wearing a decorated, open bowl on its head (see Figure 14). The placement of a bowl on the head was a type of funerary treatment reserved for children and women. Burial #41 was dug

through the floor into bedrock then sealed with a circular clay “plug” that was level with the floor. Other than the bowl, there were no other grave goods in this burial.

Figure 14: EA-6/Burial #41 with overturned bowl on its head*

*photo courtesy of William H. Isbell



3.1.2. EA-191

EA-191, located in Zone 4, was probably a domestic/workshop space. Located beneath the floor in the northeast corner of the room was an intact burial, Burial #102, which was dug into bedrock. It contained a bundle burial of an adult female (age 30-40 years) seated in a flexed position with her face looking to the east. This burial also contained a few bones (mandible, feet bones, and sternum) of one or more individuals, one of which was an adult male. Grave goods included one open bowl, one incised mother-of-pearl adornment, one *tupu*, one copper object in the shape of a projectile point, and one piece of worked greenstone. The open bowl was found near the adult female's skull suggesting that it was originally located on her head when she was

interred. As noted above, the placement of bowls on the head appears to be a funerary treatment restricted to females and children.

There are several possible interpretations to explain the presence of the few adult male bones found in Burial #102. The bones could have been intentionally placed in the tomb with the female when she was interred, or the adult male was removed when the female was placed in the tomb but a few of his bones were intentionally left behind. In either of these cases, the manipulation of bones and or bodies would be evidence for protracted burials rites, specifically evidence for secondary burial, post-mortem treatment of defleshed bones, and/or tomb reopenings. According to Millaire's (2004:386) interpretation of Moche protracted burial rites, the manipulation of human remains suggests that the bones of certain individuals were a source of power to the living.

Another possibility is that upon abandonment of the room the tomb was reopened to remove the adult male and bury the adult female, leaving her with a few of the male's bones. This would suggest that the bodies of deceased adult males were important enough for the living descendants to take with them.

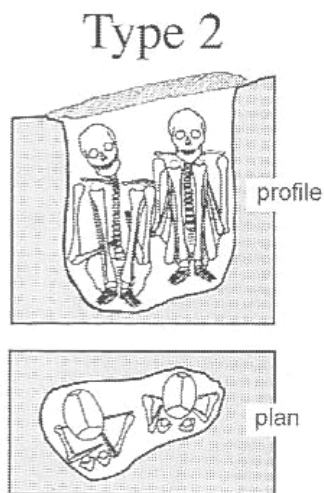
3.2. Wari Burial Type 2

Wari Burial Type 2 (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002; Tung & Cook 2006) represents a multiple interment (See Figure 15). In this case, several individuals, including adults and children, were buried in shallow pits dug into the ground. These burials were usually located in open patios, though the example discussed below was located in a roofed room. Sometimes these burials were topped with one or two flat stones and/or contained a few grave goods. This burial type was also found at the Wari site of Jincamocco.

Most of the examples of Burial Type 2 found at Conchopata date to the Early Intermediate Period (Isbell 2004:6). One example, located in Zone 1 (EA-40A/Burial #83), was analyzed as part of the present research.

Figure 15: Wari Burial Type 2*

*from Isbell 2004:10 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



3.2.1. EA-40A

EA-40A was probably used as a domestic/workshop space. In the northeast corner of the room beneath the floor was a bedrock tomb, Burial #83. This tomb measured 70 cm by 85 cm in diameter with a depth of about 1.2 meters below the floor. The human skeletal remains have not been analyzed, though the MNI of five adults is based on the number of intact skulls found. Some of the skulls had cinnabar on them. This tomb appeared to be disturbed, but some bones were articulated. The individuals were buried in a flexed position with some evidence indicating that they were bundled in textiles. The numerous intact ceramic vessels found in this tomb and the presence of some articulated parts of the skeletal remains may indicate that the tomb was reopened several times and the existing bodies were shifted around to allow room for the placement of additional individuals.

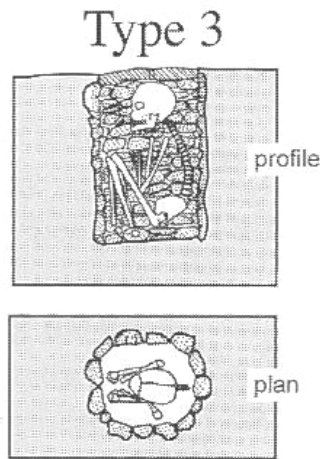
Individual #1, the first person encountered, was located at the west end of the tomb and associated with a mini-jar. Individual #2 was located beneath Individual #1 and was associated with a copper *tupu*. Individual #3 was found at the east side of the tomb and was associated with a closed bowl in the Wari blackware style, a mini-jar in the Wari blackware style, an undecorated open bowl, an undecorated closed bowl, a decorated mini-jar, a copper needle surrounded by textile, and a figurine. Individual #4 was found south of Individual #2 and was associated with a copper *tupu*, two closed bowls in the Wari blackware style, a large decorated olla, and a decorated mini-jar. Individual #4 was buried with a decorated open bowl on its head which would suggest Individual #4 was an adult female. Individual #5 was found at the northern end of the tomb with no associated grave goods.

3.3. Wari Burial Type 3

Wari Burial Type 3 (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) is a cist interment (See Figure 16). In this case, a circular shaft, about 60-90 cm in diameter and 60-100 cm in depth, was dug into the ground and partially or fully lined with stone. These cists were often topped with a capstone, and in some cases the capstone had an offering hole or notch carved along one side or in the center that allowed direct access to the burial. Cist tombs usually contained several individuals and were located in cemeteries, rooms, or in open plazas. These types of tombs were common in mortuary rooms; however, cist tombs located in mortuary rooms are categorized as a separate burial type (see below, Wari Burial Type 5) because of their specialized location.

Figure 16: Wari Burial Type 3*

*from Isbell 2004:10 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from Latin American Antiquity, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



A Burial Type 3 interment was found at Conchopata in Sector A, though it was not analyzed as part of the present research. This single example held the remains of an adult female with two ceramic pots. Another example was found at Conchopata in Sector B in the Pink Plaza, located to the west of the EA-112 Wari patio group/palace. However, this burial was also not included in this analysis. This cist tomb held the remains of a single individual and a few graves goods including a *tupu*. Burial Type 3 has also been found at the Wari sites of Aqo Wayqo and Ñawimpukio (Isbell 2004:9).

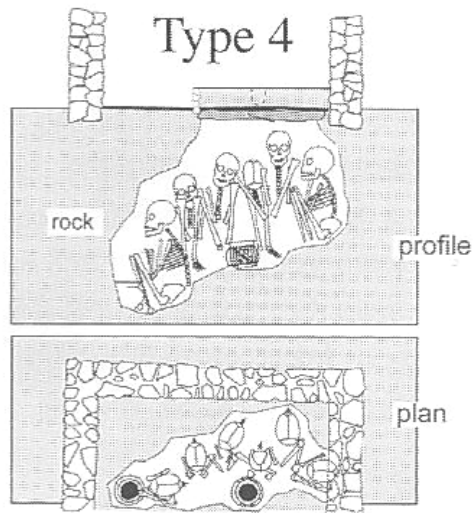
3.4. Wari Burial Type 4

Wari Burial Type 4 (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) represents a bedrock tomb interment (See Figure 17). In this case, tombs were dug into bedrock and usually located beneath the floors of roofed rooms, though two examples discussed below were located in open patios. These tombs contained numerous individuals, both adults and children, as well as exotic and/or high-status grave goods. Benches serving as capstones were usually constructed above these tombs. Some of these benches had offering holes in them allowing access to the tomb

below. Isbell (2004:26) suggests that Burial Type 4 represents tombs of minor nobles. Several examples of Burial Type 4 have been found at Conchopata and were located in Zones 1, 2, and 5 as discussed below.

Figure 17: Wari Burial Type 4*

*from Isbell 2004:10 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from Latin American Antiquity, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



3.4.1. EA-6

EA-6, located in Zone 5, was probably an open patio. Burial #L2004, a disturbed bedrock tomb, was found beneath the floor in the northeast corner of the room. This tomb had an MNI of seven individuals: one adult, two young adults, one adolescent, one child, and two infants. At least one of the adults was male. This tomb held high-status and luxury items including two Wari blackware open bowls, one finely decorated closed bowl, a fragment of a musical instrument carved from bone, one *Spondylus* bead, two pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, two pieces of carved *Spondylus* with crosshatched design, three pieces of worked greenstone, and a mother-of-pearl adornment. A bench with an offering hole was constructed above this tomb.

3.4.2. EA-9

EA-9, located in Zone 1, was probably an open patio. It had a bedrock tomb, Burial #1, located beneath the floor in the northwest corner of the room. This burial extended 1.25 meters below the surface of the floor. The MNI for Burial #1 was seven individuals: one adult male, one adult female, one child, three infants, and one infant aged newborn to 3 months. This burial was very disturbed, but the recovery of a single fragment of *Spondylus* suggests this tomb housed high-status individuals. A rectangular bench was constructed above this tomb.

3.4.3. EA-31

EA-31, located in Zone 5, was a room in Mortuary Complex “A.” It had at least two bedrock tombs beneath its floor in the eastern side of the room, one of which was intact. Along the east wall was a bench; red pigment on the bench suggests that it was originally painted red.

The intact burial in EA-31, Burial #9, was found beneath the east wall. A radiocarbon date from this burial dated to A.D. 875-995 (calibrated at 1 sigma; Isbell & Cook 2000:45). After the final body or bodies were placed into this tomb, the opening was sealed over with a mud mortar. This tomb contained one middle-aged adult, one adolescent female, one adolescent, and one infant. The infant was placed in a plainware olla that was part of the grave goods associated with the middle-aged adult. The adolescent female was represented by cranial fragments found in the north of the tomb near the body of the second adolescent. The main tomb occupants were the middle-aged adult who was lying in the southern half of the tomb and the unsexed adolescent who was lying in the northern half of the tomb. They were wrapped in textile or woven mats and placed side-by-side in a tightly flexed position. Unfortunately, these two bundle burials were in a very poor state of preservation.

The grave goods associated with the middle-aged adult in Burial #9 included one decorated olla, one plainware olla containing the remains of an infant, one decorated open bowl, one *tupu*, and two beautifully incised wooden weaving tools (Tung & Cook 2006). The grave goods associated with the unsexed adolescent in Burial #9 included two small face-neck jars in the Wari blackware style, one small closed bowl, one small decorated closed bowl, one open bowl, and two *tupus*. According to Tung & Cook (2006:83), this repertoire of grave goods identifies this adolescent as female. Altogether, this burial had two main occupants with grave goods for two people: two ollas, two open bowls, two small face-neck jars, and two cups. Each had a *tupu*, with the unsexed adolescent having an additional *tupu* and the middle-aged adult having the wooden weaving tools. Because *tupus* are mainly associated with females in Conchopata art and usually found in tombs with at least one female (Cook 2004:159, 163; Tung & Cook 2006), the two main tomb occupants in Burial #9 were probably female. During the Inka period, females were also depicted wearing *tupus* (Tung & Cook 2006:79).

Beneath the floor of the eastern side of EA-31 was at least one other bedrock tomb, Burial #L1299, located beneath the north wall. A possible offering hole was found in the floor along the north wall, more or less above the tomb. Because this burial was very disturbed and human skeletal remains and high-status grave goods were found throughout the contexts beneath the eastern side of the floor, the MNI and artifacts were pooled. The MNI for the disturbed burial contexts was 13: two adult males, three adult females, two unsexed adults, one adolescent, one child, three infants, and one infant aged newborn to 3 months. Some of the human bones had cinnabar on them. Grave goods included high-status and luxury items such as one Wari blackware closed bowl, one Wari blackware open bowl, one Wari blackware face-neck jar, one small decorated face-neck jar, three decorated open bowls, one undecorated open bowl,

one decorated mini-jar, one fancy Viñaque style cup, one copper snuff spoon, one obsidian scraper, 16 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, and three pieces of unworked greenstone.

3.4.4. EA-64

EA-64, located in Zone 5, was a room used for special activities, some associated with mortuary rituals and ceremonies. It contained at least two disturbed tombs located along the south wall beneath benches. This south area of the room was very disturbed and contexts were mixed.

One tomb was located along the south wall in the southeast corner of the room. The MNI was nine individuals: one adult, one old adult, one middle-aged adult, two children, three infants, and one fetus. At least one of the adults was male and one female. Numerous grave goods, including luxury items, were associated with this tomb. These grave goods included at least six decorated open bowls, one large decorated olla, one mini-closed bowl, one decorated effigy face *kero*, one square diatomaceous block with a human skull carved on one side, five pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, and three pieces of worked greenstone.

A second tomb was found along the middle of the south wall. It was originally located beneath a bench but the bench was destroyed. This was a burial represented by a circular depression dug into bedrock. Other than scattered human remains and an animal figurine fragment, nothing of note was recovered from this burial.

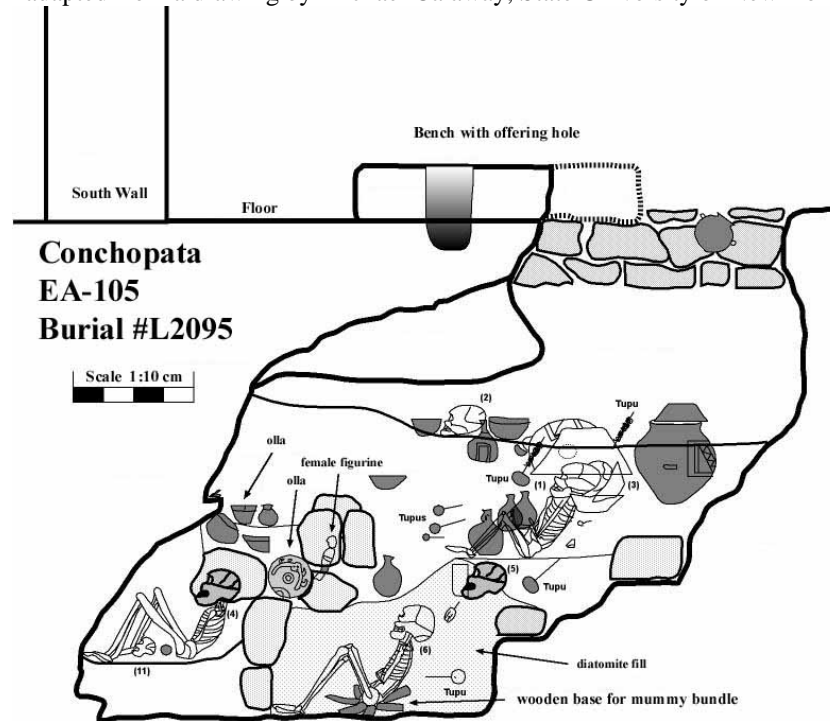
3.4.5. EA-105

EA-105, located in Zone 5, was a mortuary room. This room had a freestanding bench located in the western side of the room. Within one of the offering holes in the bench were over 10 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone. Beneath this bench was a large intact tomb, #L2095, dug into bedrock. This tomb was about 1.5 meters wide, 2.0 meters long, and 1.6 meters in depth (see Figure 18 for a hypothetical reconstruction of Burial #L2095). A sample

from the base of the tomb yielded a calibrated 2 sigma radiocarbon date of AD 688-879 (Tung & Cook 2006:78).

Figure 18: Hypothetical reconstruction of EA-105/Burial #L2095*

*adapted from a drawing by Michael Calaway, State University of New York, Binghamton.



The MNI of Burial #L2095 was 14 individuals: one adult male (age 24 to 27 years), one middle-aged adult female, four young adult females, one possible young adult female, one adolescent, one child, one infant, two infants aged newborn to 3 months, and two fetuses. Evidence indicates that the bodies were placed in the tomb over a period of time rather than representing a single mass burial of all 14 individuals. Some of the skeletons were disturbed, appearing to have been pushed to the side to allow new bodies to be placed in the tomb (Tung & Cook 2006). In addition, some individuals were only represented by a few bones suggesting that either individuals were removed but a few of their bones were left in the tomb or specific bones of individuals were later added to the tomb (Isbell 2004:13).

This tomb contained numerous high-status items including *tupus*, ceramic vessels in the Wari blackware style, beads made of shell and greenstone, worked *Spondylus*, a possible copper headdress, and fancy decorated objects including a female figurine. After the final occupants were placed in the tomb, the tomb opening was sealed with several large rocks, a single olla (HE1836) was placed upside down in the tomb opening, and the tomb was then covered over with a layer of clay level with the floor. The offering bench was then doubled in length in order to cover the tomb opening.

The offering bench above Burial #L2095 shows evidence of remodeling and expansion. Initially, this freestanding bench was square with an offering hole located in the center of the top surface. This offering hole did not extend into the tomb below, though it did contain pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone. The final construction activity involved the expansion and remodeling of the bench, though it may have undergone several remodeling phases prior to the placement of the final occupants in the tomb. After the last individuals were placed in the tomb, it was sealed and the bench was extended to the north to cover the tomb opening. This expansion doubled the size of the bench. The entire bench was replastered, sealing the original offering hole located in the center of the southern half of the original bench. Two new offering holes were constructed in the front side of the bench (see Figure 19).

Figure 19: Bench/capstone in EA-105*

*photo courtesy of William H. Isbell



Because this intact tomb contains a single male (age 24 to 27) and five or possibly six adult females, Isbell (2004:13) interprets Burial #L2095 as the tomb of a high-status male and his wives. Tung and Cook (2006:82) interpret this tomb as the final resting place of an intermediate elite kin group based on exotic and high-status grave goods, bench/capstone with offering hole, and a diet which included maize and/or *chicha*.

Beneath the large rocks that sealed the opening of the tomb, the first individual encountered was a pregnant female, Individual #1. Several grave goods were located above her including a decorated bowl (HE1847) in the Huamanga style and two decorated ollas (HE1851 and HE1854) in the Huamanga style. Both HE1851 and HE1854 contained a fetus. Placed over the mouth of HE1851 like a lid was a decorated bowl (HE1852) in the Huamanga style. Placed next to HE1851 were a small, decorated face-neck jar (HE1846) and a ceramic object (HE1845) that Cook identifies as a mini-drum (Tung & Cook 2006). Placed over the mouth of HE1854 like a lid was a decorated bowl (HE1855) in the Huamanga style. Next to the two ollas were 2 *tupus* (HE1849 and HE103B), one copper needle (HE104B), and a piece of obsidian (HE1853).

The first individual encountered was a pregnant female, Individual #1, who was probably wrapped in textile. She was facing southeast and sitting with her legs flexed "Indian" style but with her knees higher up (Tung 2000). Some of her skull bones had cinnabar on their surfaces. Individual #1 had an inverted undecorated *tazon* (HE1850) placed her head. Placed at her feet was a small face-neck jar (HE1880) in the Wari blackware style. Next to her head was a decorated olla (HE1908) in the Huamanga style. HE1908 was filled with ash and contained a braided rope or hair and two little baskets, one placed inside the other. Placed in the mouth of this olla like a lid was a decorated open bowl (HE1865) in the Huamanga style. In the lap area of Individual #1 was a decorated miniature urn (HE1881). Placed near her right knee was a small face-neck jar (HE1863) in the Huamanga style. Other artifacts associated with Individual #1 were a piece of obsidian (HE1853) and four *tupus* (HE1861, HE1926, HE1927, and HE1928).

Individual #2 was a young adult female located south of Individual #1. She had a few carious lesions on her teeth (Tung 2000). Individual #2 was associated with a *tupu* (HE1890), an undecorated miniature urn (HE1864), a decorated miniature urn (HE1891), a decorated miniature olla (HE1892), an undecorated open bowl (HE1895), three small *tupus* (HE1903, HE1910, and HE1911), and a piece of worked *Spondylus* (HE1904).

Located to the southwest of Individual #1 was Individual #3, an elderly female, age 46-50, who was interred in a flexed position. She had osteoarthritis in her spine and right shoulder and evidence for a healed cranial trauma (Tung 2000). She had a decorated open bowl (HE1895C) placed on her head like a hat and there was cinnabar on some of her skull bones. Individual #3 was facing east. In her lap was a small Wari blackware face-neck jar with a condor face (HE1896). Next to her head were three miniature urns stacked one inside the other (HE1898). Individual #3 was also associated with a *tupu* (HE1897), copper needle (HE105B),

two shell adornments carved into birds, and one carved greenstone adornment (HE1894). She may have been wearing a necklace made of over 50 *Spondylus*, greenstone, lapis lazuli, and shell beads.

Several artifacts were found in the space between Individuals #2 and #3 (Tung & Cook 2006). These included a small Wari blackware face-neck jar with a condor face (HE1907), a female figurine (HE1905), a small decorated jar with a molded feline head (HE1906), and two *tupus* (HE1900).

Individual #4, an adult female, was located along the east wall of the tomb and facing northeast. She was holding an infant (Individual #11) in her left arm. She was covered in cinnabar and had osteoarthritis in her left shoulder. Individual #5 was an adult, possibly female. She had spinal osteoarthritis, carious lesions, and evidence for healed cranial trauma (Tung 2000).

Individual #6 was an adult male, age 24-27, located at the bottom of the tomb. His entire body was surrounded by ash. He was seated in a flexed position on three wooden slats that may have formed the base of a mummy bundle (Tung & Cook 2006:79). He was facing south and some of his skull bones had cinnabar on their surfaces. He had carious lesions on several molars, evidence for healed cranial trauma, and spinal osteoarthritis (Tung 2000; Tung & Cook 2006). He may have been bundled in a textile covered in feathers (Tung & Cook 2006:79).

Individuals #7, #8, #9, and #10 were commingled. Individual #7 was an adult female with carious lesions on some of her teeth (Tung 2000). Individual #8 was a juvenile and Individual #9 was an infant. Individuals #8 and #9 were probably interred with a decorated open bowl placed on their heads (HE1918 and HE1920, respectively). Individual #10 was an infant represented by a few bones.

3.4.6. EA-178

The function of EA-178, located in Zone 2, is unclear though it mortuary activity was prominent in this room. Along the north wall was a bench beneath which were two circular tombs dug into bedrock, one beneath the west side and one beneath the east side of the bench. A small, square offering hole (13 cm x 13 cm) was located in the side of the bench and it appears to have allowed direct access to the west tomb.

Because both of the tombs were very disturbed and human skeletal remains were scattered throughout the tomb contexts, the MNI was pooled. The total MNI in EA-178 for both tombs combined was 11: two unsexed adults, one old adult female, two middle-aged adult males, one middle-aged adult female, one young adult male, one adult female, one adult male, one adolescent, and one child. Most of the human remains were found in the fill above the bench near the ground surface, suggesting they were thrown out of one or both of the underlying tombs when they were looted. Some of the teeth had cinnabar on them.

Burial #96 was the west bedrock tomb located beneath the bench. This tomb had very few grave goods other than one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and a stone plug that may have been used to plug an offering hole in a capstone. Long rectangular stones found in this burial may have been part of a capstone that sealed the opening of this tomb. Burial #97 was the east bedrock tomb located beneath the bench. This tomb had few notable grave goods other than two miniature jars (one decorated, one undecorated).

The fragmentary nature and lack of ceramic vessels in the two tombs suggest that they were heavily looted. However, these tombs contained high-status items such as a Wari

blackware closed bowl, greenstone beads, wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, miniature ceramic vessels, and silver adornments.

3.4.7. EA-187

EA-187, located in Zone 1, was a small room that was probably devoted to special activities. Human skeletal remains, designated Burial #P6, were found near the ground surface in the southeast corner of the room. The total MNI was 12 individuals: one middle-aged adult male, one middle-aged adult female, one young adult female, one young adult male, five children, and three infants. There were two large intrusions, one in the southeast corner and the other in the northeast corner of the room, both of which extended through the floor and into bedrock. These two intrusions ended in circular-shaped pits in the bedrock. It is unclear if these bedrock pits actually once held human burials. Artifacts associated with Burial #P6 included one mother-of-pearl adornment and four decorated open bowls.

3.4.8. Summary of Wari Burial Type 4

According to Isbell (2004:27), Wari Burial Type 4 represents the tombs of minor nobles. Individuals were buried with numerous grave goods in sub-floor bedrock tombs that were marked with bench-like capstones. Many of these capstones had offering holes in them. A multidimensional scaling analysis of burials (see Chapter 8) found four general types of burials. Group 1 and 2 burials were those of high-status individuals. However, Group 1 burials stood out for having Wari blackware ceramics, a high-status state feasting ware (Anders 1986b:330), as part of their grave goods. According to the multidimensional scaling analysis, some of Isbell's Wari Burial Type 4 tombs belong in Group 1 (EA-31/Burial 9, EA-31/Burial P1, EA-64/Burial P3, EA-105/Burial L2095, and EA-178/Burial 95) and some in Group 2 (EA-9/Burial 1 and EA-178/Burial 97) burial categories.

Communication devices, such as offering holes, provide strong evidence for ancestor veneration. All of the burials with offering holes in this group (EA-6, EA-31/Burial P1, EA-105, and EA-178/Burial 95) also had wedge-shaped *Spondylus* among their grave goods. As discussed in Chapter 8, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was only found in tombs that had offering holes and was dropped into tombs through the offering hole. This suggests that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* figured prominently in the types of offerings periodically made to tomb occupants who could be accessed through offering holes, and that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was a desirable item for use in the propitiation of ancestors. Because the tombs in EA-9 and EA-64 had wedge-shaped *Spondylus* among their grave goods, it is likely that these tombs had offering holes; both of the bench/capstones of these tombs were too destroyed to ascertain whether they originally had offering holes.

Table 3 shows a breakdown in sex and age of Wari Burial Type 4 tomb occupants where the data are available. Isbell (2004:27) suggests that Burial Type 4 tombs held family groups and that some of these polygynous families. For example, he interprets the intact tomb in EA-105 as that of a high-status male, his wives, and their children (2004:13). While this is a credible interpretation, it is unlikely that it applies to some of the Wari Burial Type 4 tombs such as EA-9/Burial #1, EA-31/Burial #9, and EA-178. Wari Burial Type 4 tombs that could potentially be interpreted as a demonstration of polygyny include EA-6/Burial #L2004 and EA-64.

Table 3: Breakdown of sex/age in Wari Burial Type 4 tombs

Tomb	# of adult males	# of adult females	# of unsexed adults	# of adolescents	# of infants/ children
EA-6/ Burial #L2004	1		2		4
EA-9/ Burial #1	1	1			5

Tomb	# of adult males	# of adult females	# of unsexed adults	# of adolescents	# of infants/ children
EA-31/ Burial #9			1	2 (1 = female)	1
EA-64	1	1	1		6
EA-105/ Burial #L2095	1	6		1	6
EA-178	4	3	2		2
Total	8	11	6	3	24

The interpretation of Wari Burial Type 4 tombs as those of minor nobles (Isbell 2004) or intermediate elites (Tung & Cook 2006) is supported by the multidimensional scaling analysis (see Chapter 8) that grouped these tombs into a category interpreted as high-status tombs. Whether these high-status burials were those of Wari nobles or intermediate elites is not clear.

In summary, Wari Burial Type 4 tombs were high-status tombs. Several features of these tombs provide evidence for ancestor veneration in the form of communication devices such as offering holes, prestations of distinctive items such as wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, protracted burial rites such as secondary burials and the sprinkling of cinnabar directly on human bones, and continued interaction with the ancestors in the form of expansion and remodeling of tombs.

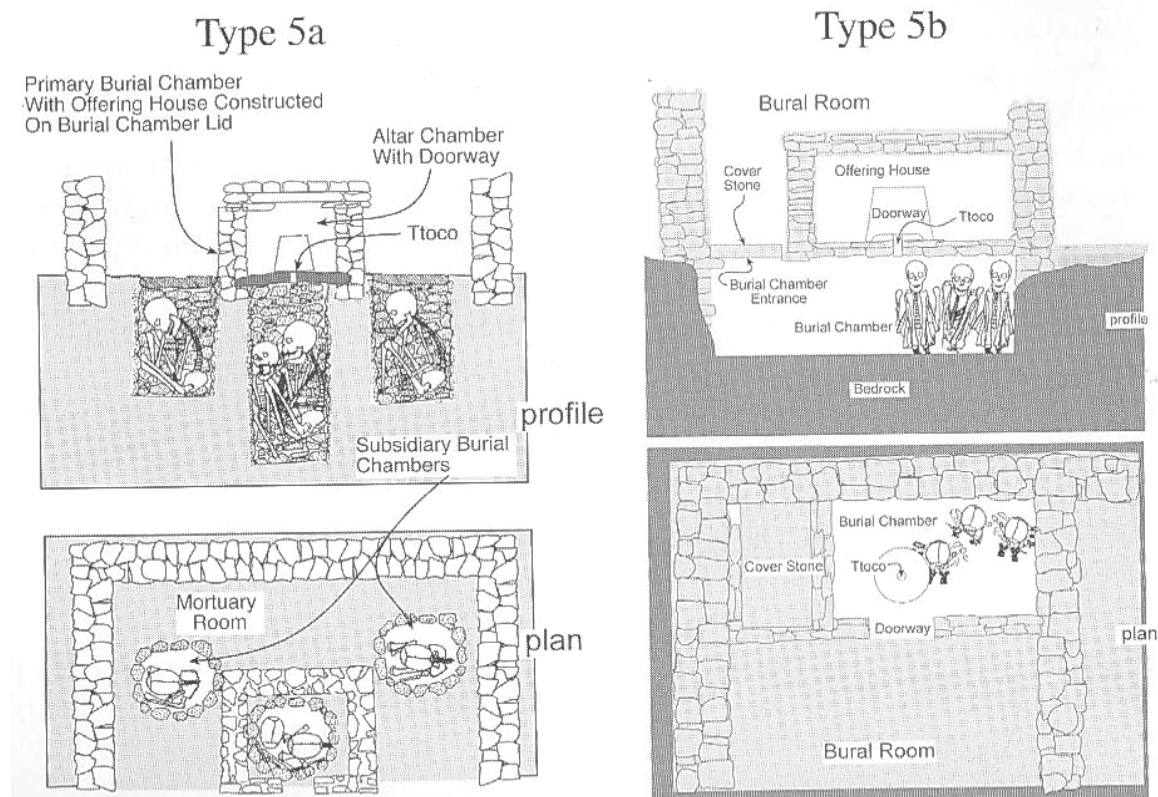
3.5. Wari Burial Type 5

Wari Burial Type 5 (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) represents a mortuary room interment (see Figure 20). Isbell distinguishes between Burial Type 5a, 5b, and 5c. Pertinent to the present research are Burial Types 5a and 5b. What distinguishes these two tomb types is accessibility; unlike Type 5a, Type 5b tombs were easily accessible through an “entrance” in the floor that was normally kept sealed off with stone slabs (Isbell 2004:15). However, because only one tomb at Conchopata (EA-150/Burial #94) may have been a Type 5b

tomb, this discussion focuses on the general characteristics of Type 5 tombs rather than focusing on the Type 5a and 5b subcategories. Burial Type 5c is briefly discussed and is a step up from 5a and 5b types; Burial Type 5c was a megalithic stone burial chamber which has only been found at the Wari capital.

Figure 20: Wari Burial Type 5a and 5b*

*from Isbell 2004:14 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



Burial Type 5 is characterized as a mortuary room interment usually containing several sub-floor tombs. These rooms were sometimes part of a mortuary complex in which several rooms were dedicated to mortuary activity. Within the mortuary room were several subfloor burials, including cist tombs (Burial Type 3) and bedrock tombs (Burial Type 4). All of these tombs were marked in some way, topped with either a small bench which served as a capstone or a small offering house. Burial Type 5 tombs held the remains of several individuals, including

adults and children. Some of the tombs had offering holes in their capstones, allowing direct access to the tomb below. Grave goods were numerous and often contained luxury items. Isbell (2004:26) suggests that Burial Type 5 tombs at Conchopata represent those of its rulers and their family members.

Burial Type 5 tombs have also been found at the Wari capital in the Moraduchayuq Compound and at Cheqo Wasi, as well as at Batan Urqu in the Huarro Valley near Cuzco (Zapata 1997). The examples from Cheqo Wasi were megalithic stone cut chambers. The material and greater energy expenditure used in constructing the Cheqo Wasi megalithic tombs suggests they held the remains of individuals of higher status than those buried in comparable but lower quality versions at Conchopata. Several examples of Burial Type 5 tombs have been uncovered at Conchopata and were located in Zones 2, 3, 4, and 5 as discussed below.

3.5.1. Mortuary Complex “A”

Mortuary Complex “A” (see Figure 21), located in Zone 5, was composed of five main rooms (EA-31, EA-36, EA-38, EA-44A, and EA-44B); all but one room (EA-36) contained sub-floor tombs.

Figure 21: Mortuary Complex "A"



3.5.1.1. EA-38

EA-38 was the western most room in Mortuary Complex “A.” It included EA-37 and EA-38B, discussed below. Two below-floor cist tombs were located along the west wall. Burial #ML2 was a disturbed, stone-lined, circular cist tomb with a diameter of about 70 cm that extended 1 meter below the floor. Human skeletal remains, which have not been analyzed, were found scattered throughout the tomb. The only noteworthy grave goods were one potter’s smoothing tool (*alisador*) made of stone, one polishing stone, and two small *tupus*. The second cist tomb was located to the north of Burial #ML2. This second tomb was very disturbed. It had a diameter of about 55 cm and extended about 1 meter below the floor. There were very few grave goods. One grave good was a figure-8 shaped object made of diatomite that had a hole at one end. There were also fragments of two decorated, lyre-shaped cups.

EA-38B was an offering house located in the southeast quadrant of EA-38. Beneath this offering house was a disturbed, stone-lined, circular cist tomb. This tomb was about 91 cm in diameter and extended 2 meters below the capstone. Human skeletal remains, which have not been analyzed, were scattered throughout this tomb. A radiocarbon sample from this burial yielded a date of A.D. 970-1025 (calibrated at 1 sigma; Isbell & Cook 2000:45). The offering house had plastered walls and floor. Beneath the floor of the offering house was a capstone for the tomb. This capstone had a half circular notch along the middle of its east side that allowed direct access to the tomb below. Presumably the plastered floor had an offering hole through it that corresponded to the offering hole in the capstone. Below the notch in the capstone, a groove ran along the east side of the tomb to the bottom of the tomb. Most of the artifacts in the tomb were found on the eastern side of the tomb suggesting offerings were periodically dropped through the offering hole. Luxury items were among the grave goods including numerous

fragments of copper that may have been *tupus* or parts of a headdress, five pieces of worked greenstone, 23 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, and one polishing stone. Despite the size of the tomb very few artifacts were found.

EA-37 was a small room that was part of EA-38. Because this room is so small, only about 2 m², it is possible that it was an offering house. Beneath the plastered floor were a disturbed, stone-lined, circular cist tomb and a bedrock tomb. One was located on the west side of the room, the other on the east side. The west tomb was about 60 cm in diameter and extended about 90 cm from the floor surface. Human skeletal remains, which have not been analyzed, were dispersed throughout the contexts in the room fill and in the tombs. However, very little cultural material was encountered in any of the contexts in EA-37 and this room was excluded from the present analysis.

3.5.1.2. EA-44A

EA-44A was the central room in Mortuary Complex "A." The field notes from this room were incomplete and much information is lacking. However, it appears this room had two disturbed burials. One was located in the northeast corner of the room in a pit dug into bedrock. This pit was 50 cm by 110 cm in diameter and about 80 cm deep. Nothing of note was recovered from this tomb. Another burial was located in the southeast corner of the room. The excavator indicated that a secondary burial was placed above a disturbed cist tomb. Other than a decorated open bowl, no other significant grave goods were found.

3.5.1.3. EA-44B

EA-44B was south of EA-44A. The field notes from this room were incomplete and much information is lacking. EA-44B was completely looted and destroyed. At the west end of this

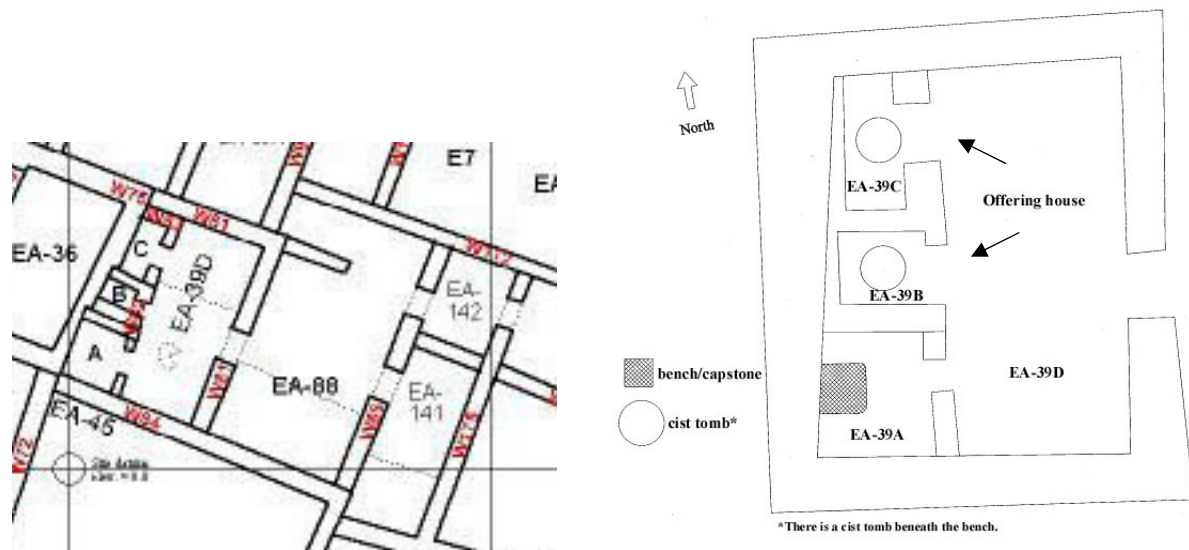
room was a subfloor, circular, stone-lined cist tomb. This tomb had a groove along its north wall that extended from the top of the tomb to the floor. This groove is similar to that found in the cist tomb of EA-38B, suggesting that the EA-44B tomb had a capstone with a notch carved along its north side that corresponded to the groove running down the length of the tomb. Remnants of a wall along the north and east of this tomb suggest that an offering house once sat above the tomb. Another tomb was located at the east end of EA-44B that may have had a bench/capstone above it. Very little cultural material was found and this tomb was excluded from the present study.

The west tomb in EA-44B had an MNI of one young adult male and two middle-aged adult males. The lack of grave goods, other than 27 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and two pieces of worked greenstone, suggest that this tomb had been heavily looted.

3.5.2. Mortuary Complex “B”

Mortuary Complex “B” (see Figure 22), located in Zone 5, was composed of four rooms (EA-39, EA-88, EA-141, and EA-142). Two of these rooms contained tombs (EA-39 and EA-88) and are discussed here. EA-88 is discussed in Section 3.9 below because it contains Wari Burial Type 9 tombs.

Figure 22: Mortuary Complex "B" and close-up of primary burial chamber, EA-39



EA-39 was a room devoted to mortuary activity and was the main burial chamber of Mortuary Complex “B.” This room was subdivided into four spaces, 39A, 39B, 39C, and 39D. Because this room was looted and disturbed, the MNI was pooled for all the burial contexts. However, the human skeletal remains from EA-39B have not been analyzed. The MNI for the entire room, minus EA-39B, was 30 individuals including two old adults, three middle-aged adults, seven young adults, two adolescents, four children, nine infants, two infants aged newborn to 3 months, and one fetus. Of these individuals, four were male and nine were female.

EA-39A was a small room in the southwest corner of EA-39. Beneath the floor along the west wall was a disturbed, stone-lined, circular cist tomb that contained multiple individuals. The tomb had a diameter of about 78 cm and extended 1 meter beneath the floor of the room. Above the tomb was a bench that served as a capstone. This burial contained several high-status items. The grave goods included one lyre cup in the Wari blackware style, one undecorated closed bowl, one undecorated open bowl, one square block of diatomite, four pieces of wedge-

shaped *Spondylus*, one tupu, and six pieces of worked greenstone. The presence of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* in this tomb implies that this tomb had an offering hole in its capstone.

EA-39B was a small offering house that was located along the middle of the west wall in EA-39. Beneath this offering house was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb that contained multiple individuals. This tomb had a diameter of about 78 cm and extended 1.15 meters from the capstone. The offering house and tomb were both disturbed. The floor of the offering house was plastered and beneath the floor was the capstone to the tomb. This burial contained very few grave goods though several luxury items were recovered including nine pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and three pieces of worked greenstone. The presence of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* in this tomb implies that the offering house above it had an offering hole.

EA-39C was an offering house located in the northwest corner of EA-39. Beneath this offering house was a trapezoidal-shaped, stone-lined cist tomb that contained multiple individuals. The floor of the tomb measured about 82 cm by 80 cm and extended 1.35 meters from the capstone to the bottom of the tomb. The offering house and tomb were both disturbed. The exterior wall of the offering house had evidence of having been plastered at least twice indicating that this tomb had undergone several renovations.

The offering house in EA-39C had a plastered floor beneath which was the capstone to the tomb. On the floor of the offering house, in the southwest corner, was a small cluster of six pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. In the floor along the eastern wall of the offering house was a slightly raised surface in the center of which was an offering hole. This offering hole corresponded to a niche carved into the underlying stone capstone. The offering hole measured 9 cm in diameter and allowed direct access to the tomb below. Numerous high-status grave goods were recovered from this tomb including textile fragments, one lapis lazuli bead, 17 greenstone

beads, 19 pieces of worked greenstone, 290 *Spondylus* beads, 28 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, eight copper pins, one tupu, and one copper “snuff” spoon. The lack of ceramic vessels suggests that the tomb was heavily looted. Alternatively, ceramic vessels were kept in the offering houses and periodically replenished with food and drink offerings.

EA-39D represents the eastern half of EA-39. Beneath the floor of EA-39D, in the northern one-third of the room, were two, small, rectangular chambers which probably served as tombs. Both had bedrock floors and were divided from each other by a wall. A small entryway in the wall that divided the two chambers allowed access between them. Both chambers measured about 80 cm wide, 1.5 meters long, and 1.3 meters high.

The western subterranean chamber in EA-39D contained human skeletal remains from several individuals, though it is unclear if they were originally located in this tomb or if they were thrown out of EA-39C, which is located to the west, when that tomb was looted. Despite the size of the western subterranean chamber, very few grave goods were found. Among the grave goods were luxury goods such as six mini-vessels, 13 *Spondylus* beads, 10 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, two greenstone beads, and one piece of worked greenstone. The lack of ceramic vessels suggests that the burial chamber was heavily looted.

The eastern subterranean chamber in EA-39D contained human skeletal remains from several individuals. Some of the human skull fragments had cinnabar on their surfaces. In the east wall of this chamber was a small niche-like area. Despite the size of the eastern subterranean chamber, very few grave goods were found though numerous grave goods were recovered including one decorated closed bowl, one decorated open bowl, two mini-vessels, textile fragments, two *Spondylus* beads, one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, one greenstone

bead, one piece of worked greenstone, and three *tupus*. Again, the lack of ceramic vessels suggests that the burial chamber was heavily looted.

Finally, EA-39D had a bedrock tomb beneath the north wall that was accessed through the eastern subterranean chamber. This tomb contained the remains of several individuals and no artifacts other than a few ceramic sherds. Some of the human skull fragments had cinnabar on their surfaces.

EA-39 has ample evidence of both remodeling and expansion of burial facilities. For example, the offering houses, EA-39B and EA-39C, have a few layers of plaster on their walls indicating that they were periodically refurbished. The entire room of EA-39 underwent reconstruction several times after completion of the first offering house, EA-39C. Following the construction of EA-39C, the EA-39B offering house was built, and the below-floor cist tomb in EA-39A was constructed. The final construction activity in the room involved the building of two sub-floor burial chambers beneath the floor in the northeastern side of the room, after which the floor was reconstructed and the walls of the entire room were replastered and painted.

3.5.3. EA-110

EA-110, located in Zone 3, was probably a room devoted to mortuary activity. Unfortunately, this room was mostly destroyed, as was much of the area of the site where EA-110 is located. In fact, fragments of the same ceramic vessels were found in EA-109, EA-110, and EA-138. Red pigment found on the plastered walls of EA-110 suggests that it was originally painted red. Human bones were recovered throughout the room and from all contexts. Some human teeth had cinnabar on their surfaces.

The EA-110/Burial #P4 was probably located along the south and east walls of the room. It was dug deep into bedrock. The MNI of the pooled human skeletal remains from the room

was 16, including two middle-aged adults, three young adults, two adolescents, one child, five infants, two infants aged newborn to 3 months, and one fetus. Of these individuals, there were two possible males and one possible female.

Luxury items were found in this room including nine *Spondylus* beads and seven pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Wedge-shaped *Spondylus* is associated with tombs that have offering holes (see Chapter 8) suggesting that the tomb(s) in EA-110 may have had an offering hole. Vessel types found in the room included numerous miniature urns and open bowls. The fragmentary nature of nearly all of the ceramic vessels suggests that this tomb was heavily looted.

Isbell (2006:71) interprets the tomb in EA-110 as that of one of Conchopata's royal rulers based on its large size, presence of luxury items, and location next to the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace; in addition, because this room and its tomb were almost completely destroyed, it seems probable that it contained items of vast wealth which made it a target of intense looting. EA-110 stands out from all the other mortuary rooms at Conchopata for containing a much higher than average proportion of miniature ceramic urns; the presence of these mini-urns is argued to be evidence for symbolic feasting activities associated with the propitiation of the ancestors (see Chapter 6).

Because EA-110 was so disturbed, it is unknown if the tomb along the south wall was actually one big tomb or divided into two or more smaller tombs. EA-150 and EA-179 (see below) both contained a single, large bedrock tomb that rival in size and content to that of EA-110. In fact, EA-179 was also heavily looted suggesting it once held objects of great value. And, EA-150 was one of two tombs (the other being EA-138) that contained gold, and the only tomb that contained both gold and silver among its grave offerings.

3.5.4. EA-138

EA-138, located in Zone 3, was a room devoted to mortuary activity. Like EA-110, this room borders the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. This room was looted and partially destroyed by modern construction activity. Beneath its floor were four cist tombs, at least two of which had benches above them that served as capstones. These tombs were found beneath the floor in the southern half of the room. The floor of this room was constructed just above bedrock, and the tombs were located another 1 to 2 meters below the floor. Human skeletal remains were found throughout the room in several contexts, mainly concentrated in the southern half of the room. However, these skeletal remains have not been analyzed. This room was one of two rooms at Conchopata that contained gold.

Burial #1 was located in the southeast corner of the room. It was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb about 58 cm deep and 26 cm in diameter. It had a small capstone that had a half-circular notch carved along its east side suggesting it was accessible by an offering hole. This tomb contained no grave goods or human skeletal remains.

Burial #2 was located in the southwest corner of the room. It was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb that was about 1 meter deep and 60 cm in diameter. This tomb had a bench over it that served as a capstone. Human skeletal remains were scattered throughout the tomb. The only notable artifacts recovered were two pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. The presence of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* suggests this tomb probably had an offering hole in the bench/capstone above it.

Burial #3 was located along the center of the west wall. It was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb that was about 1 meter deep and 75 cm in diameter. Human skeletal remains were scattered throughout the tomb. Two finger bones had green discoloration suggesting they once

had rings on them. Notable grave goods included one mini-urn, two small thin gold disks, a small painted bird figurine carved out of bone, and five pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Again, the presence of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* suggests this tomb had an offering hole in its capstone.

Burial #4 was located in the center of EA-138. It was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb with a diameter of about 68 cm by 104 cm. It extended 1.3 meters below the surface of the floor. This tomb had a bench above it that served as a capstone. Human skeletal remains were found scattered throughout the tomb. Cultural material was very fragmentary.

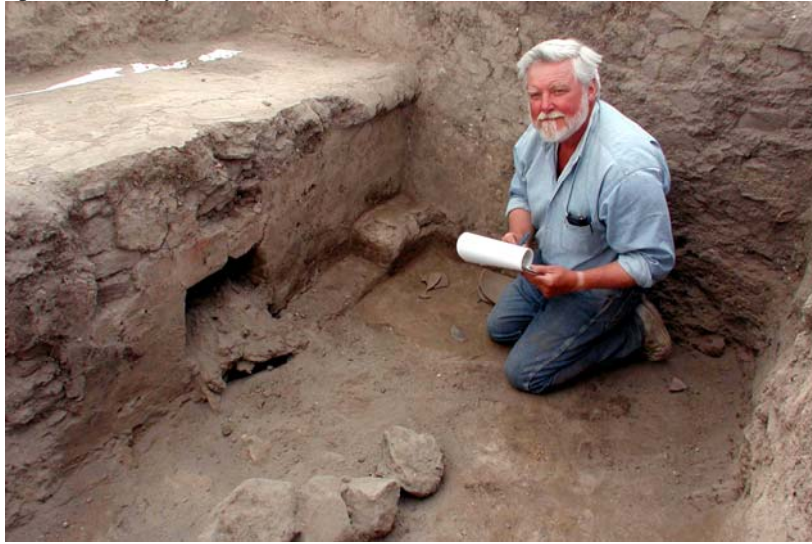
Overall luxury items found in this room included nine pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, one piece of worked greenstone, gold, copper adornments, *tupus*, and ceramic vessels in the Wari blackware style. Other ceramic vessel types found included open and closed bowls. The fragmentary nature of nearly all of the ceramic vessels suggests that this tomb was heavily looted.

3.5.5. EA-150

EA-150, located in Zone 4, was a room devoted to mortuary activity. This room and its tomb were disturbed. Along most of the west wall was a large offering house (see Figure 23). Beneath this offering house was a large rectangular tomb that contained multiple individuals. Along with EA-138, EA-150 was the only other room at Conchopata in which gold was found.

Figure 23: Offering house with trapezoidal opening above tomb in EA-150*

*photo courtesy of William H. Isbell



The offering house above the tomb in EA-150 measured about 1.15 meters wide, 1.85 meters long, and 85 cm high. This offering house had a rounded cornice along its top edge and a small trapezoidal opening allowing access into the offering house. On either side of the trapezoidal opening were four small holes suggesting that long, rectangular panels once adorned each side of the opening. Along the front of the offering house was a two step shelf on which objects may have been placed.

In the middle of the floor inside the offering house was a small, flat-topped mound with an offering hole in the top. This offering hole, which was 8 cm in diameter, allowed direct access to the tomb below. Several pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* were found in the tomb directly below the offering hole suggesting they were dropped into the tomb through the offering hole. Traces of red and perhaps black pigment were found on the exterior plastered surface of the offering house. The inside of the offering house had also been painted red. Though there was soil in the offering house that contained some animal and human bone as well as ceramic

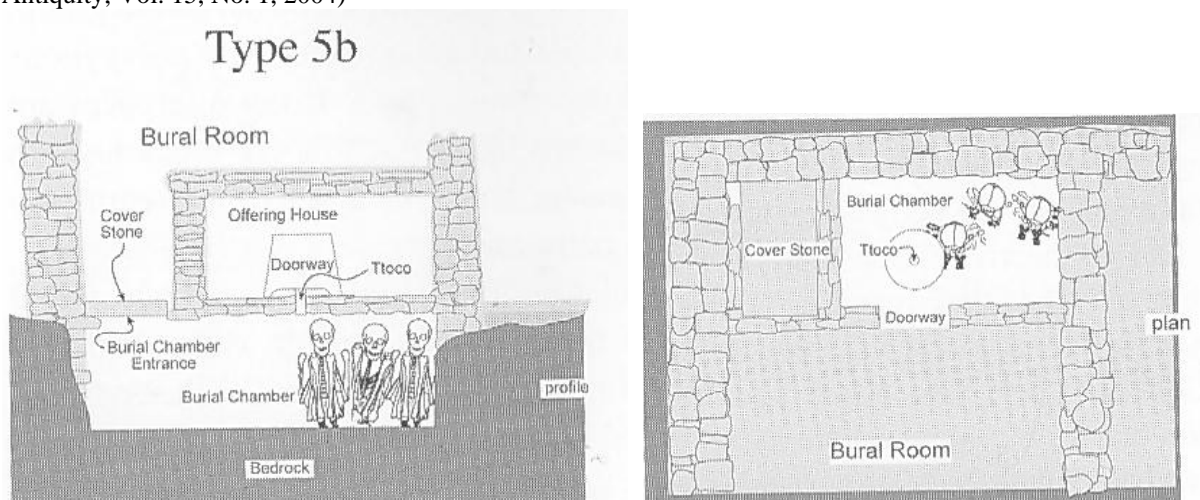
sherds, nothing of significance was found other than a lyre cup in the Wari blackware style and one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

The floor in the southwest corner of EA-150 next to the offering house was completely destroyed. Two long, rectangular slabs of stone were found in this corner. Isbell & Cook (2002:287) suggest that these stone slabs were placed at floor level to seal off the entrance to the tomb, but were removable to allow access to the tomb as needed.

Burial #94 was the only tomb in EA-150 and was located beneath the offering house (see Figure 24 for a hypothetical reconstruction). This tomb was dug deep into bedrock. It was a stone-lined, rectangular tomb about 85 cm wide, 2.6 meters long, and 1.2 meters high. This tomb was disturbed and human skeletal remains were scattered throughout the tomb. Some of the bones had cinnabar on their surfaces. The MNI of this tomb was five individuals including one old adult female, one young adult female, one adolescent female, and two children.

Figure 24: Wari Burial Type 5b*

*from Isbell 2004:14 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from Latin American Antiquity, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



The fragmentary nature and lack of ceramic vessels suggest that this tomb had been heavily looted. However, the relatively large amounts of luxury items as well as unique artifacts

recovered attests to the wealth of objects this tomb once held as well as the importance of its occupants. Grave goods included seven small gold adornments and eight silver adornments that were perhaps sewn onto clothing, 24 copper adornments that were sewn onto clothing, one hollow silver tube about 3 cm long, three objects made from shell or diatomite in the shape of an eye that were perhaps placed on mummy bundles, 31 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, seven *tupus*, 802 greenstone beads, 42 *Spondylus* beads, two lapis lazuli beads, five objects carved from greenstone, and one miniature open bowl.

3.5.6. EA-153

EA-153, located in Zone 2, was a mortuary room. The two tombs in this room were located beneath the floor along the south wall and had benches above them serving as capstones. The tombs were dug into bedrock and were disturbed. Human skeletal remains were found scattered throughout the tomb contexts. Not all the human skeletal remains were analyzed. Because the tomb contexts were disturbed, the MNI for EA-153 was pooled. The total MNI was at least four individuals including three adults and one child.

In the southwest corner of the room was a bench/capstone that measured 80 cm wide, 85 cm long, and at least 70 cm high. Traces of red pigment on the exterior surface of the bench indicate it was once painted red. Beneath this bench was Burial #87, which was a circular pit dug into bedrock. This burial contained both luxury goods including nine pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, one piece of worked greenstone, and a decorated miniature jar. Part of an effigy face ceramic vessel (HE7107), the top half the head of a feline and the bottom half the head of a human skull, was found in this burial. Most of this vessel was found in the tomb located in EA-179, which was south of EA-153 and adjacent to Burial #87.

In the middle of the south wall of EA-150 was a small, rectangular bench/capstone that measured 33 cm wide, 42 cm long and about 4 cm high. In the middle of this bench was an offering hole. Beneath this bench was Burial #100 which was a circular pit dug into bedrock. Grave goods included four pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, two miniature jars one of which was decorated, and one miniature urn.

Other artifacts that may have been part of the grave goods of Burials #87 or #100 included at least two bowls in the Wari blackware style, a decorated neckless olla, a large open bowl with handles, and an effigy face *kero*. The fragmentary nature and lack of ceramic vessels suggest that the tombs in EA-153 had been heavily looted.

3.5.7. EA-179

EA-179, located in Zone 2, was a room devoted to mortuary activity. Along its west wall was a bench/capstone, though its dimensions are unknown due to the fact that most of it was destroyed. This bench was probably originally painted red based on pieces of red painted plaster recovered. Beneath this bench was a large bedrock tomb, Burial #98. To the north of Burial #98, beneath the floor in the northwest corner of the room, was Burial #91. Both burials were disturbed.

Burial #91 was located beneath the floor in the northwest corner of the room. There was a bench above this burial. Above this burial was a stack of rocks that would have sealed the tomb. There was a possible offering hole through the center of this stack of rocks. Grave goods included one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and one decorated miniature jar. Also found in this burial was 80% of an effigy face ceramic vessel (HE7107), the top half representing the face of a feline, the bottom half the face of a human skull. Part of this vessel was found in EA-153, Burial #87.

Burial #98 was located along the west wall of the room. It was a huge tomb dug into bedrock. It measured about 1.3 meters wide, 1.5 meters long, and 1.5 meters high at its highest point. Most of the human bones in Burial #98 were concentrated along the sides of the tomb suggesting they were pushed out of the way when the tomb was looted. The MNI for Burial #98 was 32 individuals including five adults, three adult females, one middle-aged adult, three middle-aged adult males, two middle-aged adult females, one old adult male, two old adult females, one adolescent, 13 children, and one infant.

Despite the large size of Burial #98 and the numerous individuals present, there were relatively few grave goods suggesting it was heavily looted. Numerous luxury items were found in the tomb attesting to the wealth of objects this tomb once held as well as the importance of its occupants. The grave goods recovered included 69 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, six pieces of worked greenstone, 17 greenstone beads, one silver adornment, one *tupu*, one closed bowl in the Wari blackware style, one decorated open bowl, three miniature jars, and one miniature open bowl.

3.5.8. Burial Type 5c: Cheqo Wasi

Wari Burial Type 5c represents mortuary rooms that contained megalithic stone burial chambers (see Figure 25) which are only found at the Wari capital (Isbell 2004:18). These burial chambers were accessible by removing the top lid. Some of the Burial Type 5c mortuary rooms contained a complex of burial chambers with one or two below-floor levels.

Figure 25: Wari Burial Type 5c from the Cheqo Wasi sector at the Wari capital



The Cheqo Wasi sector at Wari served as a funerary complex and probably housed the remains of the pinnacle of Wari society (Benavides 1991; Isbell 2004:18; Isbell & Vranich 2004:180; Pérez 2001). Within this complex, at least four rooms contained megalithic stone-cut chambers that served as tombs, and many of these tombs had offering holes. One of these rooms that held tombs was a D-shaped structure. The skeletal remains of over 100 individuals have been recovered from this sector, and many skull bones were stained with cinnabar. Associated artifacts included miniature ceramic vessels, *tupus*, objects such as beads carved from greenstone and *Spondylus*, and items of silver, gold, and mother-of-pearl (Benavides 1991).

3.5.9. Summary of Wari Burial Type 5

According to Isbell (2004:27), Wari Burial Type 5 represents a mortuary room interment within which were buried Conchopata's rulers and their families. These rooms usually contained several sub-floor tombs that held the remains of numerous individuals, both adults and children. Some of these rooms were part of multi-room mortuary complexes. Tombs in mortuary rooms

included cist tombs and bedrock tombs. Grave goods were numerous and consisted of high-status and luxury items.

Burial Type 5 tombs were marked with bench-like capstones or small offering houses. Most bench/capstones had offering holes in them that allowed access to the tomb below. All offering houses had offering holes. Communication devices such as offering holes provide strong evidence for ancestor veneration. All of the burials included in the Wari Burial Type 5 category that had offering holes (EA-38, EA-39, EA-44B, EA-150, and EA-153) also had wedge-shaped *Spondylus* among their grave goods. As discussed in Chapter 8, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was only found in tombs that had offering holes. This suggests that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was a desirable item for use in the propitiation of ancestors. Because the tombs in EA-110, EA-138, and EA-179 had wedge-shaped *Spondylus* among their grave goods, it is probable that these tombs also had offering holes; the capstone benches of these tombs were too destroyed to ascertain whether they originally had offering holes.

A multidimensional scaling analysis of burials (see Chapter 8) found four general types of burials. Group 1 tombs included those located in EA-39, EA-138, EA-153, and EA-179. Group 2 tombs included those located in EA-38, EA-44B, EA-110, and EA-150. Group 1 and 2 burials were interpreted as high-status tombs. However, Group 1 burials stand out for the presence of Wari blackware ceramics which were high-status, state-associated feasting wares (Anders 1986:330). According to the multidimensional scaling analysis, half of Isbell's Wari Burial Type 5 belong in the Group 1 and half in the Group 2 burial category.

According to Isbell (2004:27), females predominantly outnumber males in Burial Type 5 mortuary rooms supporting his interpretation of the practice of polygyny at Conchopata. Table 4 gives a breakdown of sex and age in mortuary rooms where the data are available. This

interpretation of polygyny may apply in EA-39, EA-110, EA-153, and EA-178; however, it does not or is unlikely to apply to some Wari Burial Type 5 tombs such as EA-44B. EA-150 contained only females.

Table 4: Breakdown of sex/age in Burial Type 5 mortuary rooms

Mortuary Room	# of adult males	# of adult females	# of unsexed adults	# of adolescents	# of infants/ children
39	4	9	1	2	16
44B	3				
110	2	1	2	2	9
150		2		1 (female)	2
153			3		1
179	4	7	6	1	14
Total	13	19	12	6	42

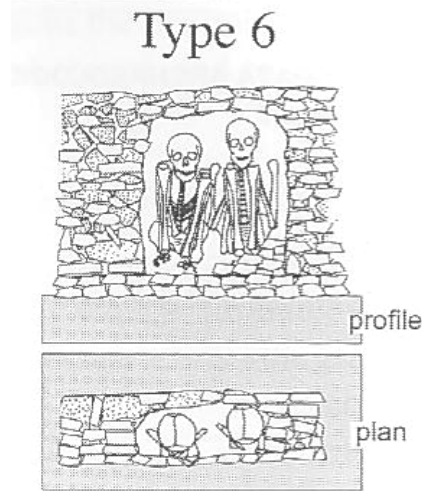
Several features of Wari Burial Type 5 tombs provide evidence for ancestor veneration in the form of communication devices such as offering holes, prestations of distinctive items such as wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, and continued interaction with the ancestors in the form of expansion and remodeling of tombs. According to Isbell (in Isbell & Cook 2002:288), only Conchopata elites venerated their ancestors and venerated ancestors were "probably polygynous household heads" whose family members, including wives and children, were buried with him.

3.6. Wari Burial Type 6

Burial Type 6 (Isbell 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) represents a wall interment (see Figure 26). In this case, an individual was placed in a chamber within a wall or into a niche built into the wall. Burial Type 6 has been found at the Wari capital, Batan Urqu, and Viracochapampa. All of the examples at Wari have been severely looted, though several contained grave goods. No examples have been found at Conchopata.

Figure 26: Burial Type 6*

*from Isbell 2004:10 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from Latin American Antiquity, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



3.7. Wari Burial Type 7

Wari Burial Type 7 (Cook 1987:52; Isbell 1987a:99, 2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002; Tung & Cook 2006) represents a sacrificial burial (see Figure 27). In this case, several individuals were sacrificed, placed in a pit, and covered with stones.

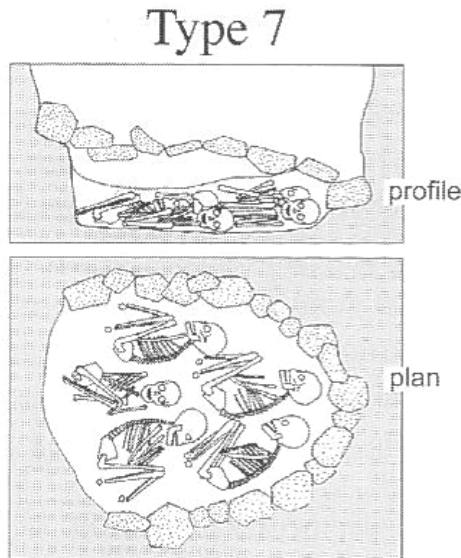
A single example of Wari Burial Type 7 was found at Conchopata but it was not analyzed as part of the present research. This sacrificial burial was discovered in 1977 by construction workers digging a trench along the road to the airport. It was found near the Pink Sand Plaza located to the west of the EA-112 Wari patio group/palace.

The Conchopata sacrificial burial consisted of five adolescent and adult females in a pit dug into bedrock. These females were placed in the tomb wrapped in textiles in flexed positions. Grave goods associated with these individuals included *tupus*, bone hair pins, and a spindle whorl. This burial was probably associated with a ceremony involving the intentional smashing of fancy, decorated face-neck jars. Located about one meter south of the sacrificial burial was a

huge cache of ceramics containing the fragments of about elaborately decorated 25 face-neck jars (Cook 1987; Isbell 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002; Tung & Cook 2006).

Figure 27: Wari Burial Type 7*

*from Isbell 2004:10 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2004)



3.8. Wari Burial Type 8

Wari Burial Type 8 (Isbell 2001a, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) represents a possible royal interment containing the remains of numerous individuals. This tomb type is only found in the Monjachayoq sector at the Wari capital and consists of a complex of four or five subterranean levels of stone chambers and tombs. This single example, which was extensively looted, extended at least 10 meters below the ground surface and was probably associated with a D-shaped structure. This huge, subterranean, multi-storied mortuary complex may have been the tomb of a Wari king (Isbell 2004, 2006; Pérez 2001).

3.9. Wari Burial Type 9

Burial Type 9 (Isbell 2002a; Tung & Cook 2006) represents an infant/child bench burial. In this case, an infant or child, either singly or in a small group of two or three individuals, was buried

in a bench. These benches usually contained multiple infant/child burials. Children were almost always found in a seated flexed position, and many wore bowls on their heads like hats (see Figure 28 and Figure 14 above). Placing a bowl on the head was a mortuary practice that appeared to be restricted to women and children. At Conchopata, all the infant/child bench burials were found in two rooms in Zone 5 with a single exception found in Zone 3.

Figure 28: Wari Burial Type 9; from EA-148 (Burial #43)*

*photo courtesy of William H. Isbell



3.9.1. EA-88

EA-88, located in Zone 5, was a room in Mortuary Complex "B." This room had a bench located along its south wall. This bench was constructed on top of the floor of the room, indicating the room did not have a bench during its initial use and that it may have been intentionally built to hold infant and child burials.

Within this bench were at least five infant/child burials, three of which were intact. The northwest portion of the bench was completely destroyed. Both the southeast and southwest corners were broken through. These two corners held disturbed burials. The total MNI of all the

burials in this bench was 9, including 5 infants and 4 children. Numerous grave goods accompanied these burials, including a few luxury items.

Burial #54 was a disturbed burial located in the southwest corner of the bench. This burial was dug through the underlying floor into bedrock. This burial contained at least one infant and one decorated open bowl in the Huamanga style. The infant was probably buried with this bowl on its head.

Burial #77 was a disturbed burial located in the southeast corner of the room. This burial was dug through the underlying floor into bedrock. The MNI was three individuals including two infants and one infant aged newborn to 3 months. Grave goods included a closed bowl decorated in the Huamanga style and a rectangular, mother-of-pearl shell adornment.

Burial #79 was an intact burial located to the north of Burial #54. Burial #79 contained a single child sitting in a flexed position with its face looking to the east. This burial was dug through the underlying floor into bedrock. The child was buried with a decorated open bowl placed on its head. Cotton was placed in the child's mouth and nose. A thin layer of textile was wrapped around the child's head. This textile, which was covered with cinnabar, was held in place by a piece of string or rope.

Burial #82-84-85 contained three children, each buried with an open bowl on its head. This intact burial was dug through the underlying floor into bedrock. Burial #85 was probably placed in the pit lying on its right side in a flexed position with its face looking to the east. Burial #85 was accompanied by four copper bells and the open bowl on its head was decorated. Two children were placed above Burial #85. Burial #82 was probably buried in a seated, flexed position. The open bowl on its head was also decorated. Some of the skull bones had cinnabar on their surfaces. Burial #84 was buried in a seated, flexed position with its face looking to the

east. This child was probably wrapped in textile. Its left arm was resting on top of the open bowl that was on the head of Burial #85. After these three children were placed in the pit, the fragments of a single decorated olla were placed above the burial and around the heads of Burials #82 and #84.

Burial #86 was an intact burial of a single infant sitting in a flexed position. Unlike the other burials in this bench, this infant did not have a bowl on its head. After the infant was buried, the top of the burial had been sealed with a rock. This infant was buried with a rectangular shell ornament, two circular objects made of copper, and a copper needle. Fragments of textile were also recovered from this burial.

3.9.2. EA-147

EA-147, located in Zone 5, was probably initially a domestic/workshop space though the presence of infant/child bench burials suggests it served a non-domestic or ceremonial function at some point. A bench was located in this room along the entire south wall. Five infant/child burials, four of which were intact, were placed within this bench. The total MNI of all the burials was five infants and one child (Tung 2003).

Burial #42 was a disturbed burial located in the southeast corner of the bench. A small niche-like area was carved into the bottom of the south wall and a single child was placed in it. The bones were somewhat disarticulated, but it appears as if this child was buried in a fetal position, face up, lying slightly on its left side. Because of the disturbed nature of this burial, grave goods could not be attributed to it with certainty.

Burial #43 was an intact burial located in the southwest corner of the bench (see Figure 28 above). The MNI was two, including an infant and a child. The infant was represented by several bones to the southwest of the child. It appears that this child was originally buried in a

small, square-shaped bench. This small bench had three polishing stones placed at its corners. At a later date, this small bench was covered over by the larger bench constructed along the entire south wall. The child was buried sitting in a fetal position with its face looking to the east. It was wearing a decorated open bowl on its head. Behind its head were three miniature ceramic pots (a mini-olla and two mini-open bowls). Beneath these miniature vessels was a decorated open bowl. Just below the right ear of the child was a miniature face-neck jar. Placed near the left side of the child's head was another decorated open bowl. All of these open bowls were decorated with a feline motif. Just south of the child was a *tupu*, a small shell, and a few camelid bones. Of all the infant/child bench burials, Burial #43 was the buried with the most elaborate grave goods.

Burial #46 was an intact burial located along the west wall just to the north of Burial #43. A single infant was placed sitting in a fetal position with its face looking to the southeast. A decorated open bowl was placed on its head.

Burial #48 was an intact burial located along the west wall just to the north of Burial #46. A single infant was buried sitting in a fetal position with its face looking to the northeast. A decorated open bowl was placed on its head.

Finally, Burial #49 was located to the northeast of Burial #43. This burial was represented by a single infant sitting in a fetal position. This infant was buried with a decorated closed bowl. Inside this bowl was a miniature decorated jar, a miniature urn, and a decorated whistle in the form of a bird with a human face.

3.9.3. EA-154

EA-154 may have functioned as a domestic living space and/or workshop. Along the entire north wall of the room was a bench that took up half the room. In the northwest corner of the

room a single child was buried in the bench subsequent to the construction of the bench. This burial, Burial #L2830, was intact. The child was placed on the floor of the room in a seated, flexed position with its face looking to the southeast. The sole grave good consisted of several fragments of an undecorated jar that were placed on and around the child's head.

3.9.4. Summary of Wari Burial Type 9

The remains of children are found in three different contexts: in high-status tombs, beneath floors, or within benches (Wari Burial Type 9). Infants/children were mainly found in high-status tombs. In two intact high-status tombs, EA-31/Burial #9 and EA-105/Burial #L2095, infants/fetuses were placed in ollas. Tung and Cook (2006) suggest that the fetuses placed in ollas were miscarriages of adult female tomb occupants. In one instance (EA-105/Burial #L2095), an infant was found cradled in the arm of an adult female (Tung & Cook 2006). All other high-status tombs were disturbed so it is unclear exactly in what other manner infants/children were placed in these tombs, though some were probably included as bundle burials.

A multidimensional scaling analysis of burials (see Chapter 8) found four general types of burials. Group 3 burials were those that only contained infants and/or children. Thus, Wari Burial Type 9 accorded perfectly with Group 3 burials that clustered together in the multidimensional scaling analysis.

With a single exception (EA-6/Burial #41), Wari Burial Type 9 represents infant/child burials located in benches. Infants/children placed in benches were buried individually or with one or two other children. When buried in a bench or beneath a floor, infants/children were often placed sitting in a fetal position with an overturned bowl placed on their heads; some were also buried with other grave goods, a few of which were luxury items. Grave goods that have

been found in infant/child burials included shell adornments, copper bells, whistles, and miniature ceramic vessels. Unlike high-status tombs, infant/child burials never contained grave goods such as Wari blackware style ceramics, beads, *Spondylus*, greenstone, or figurines. In addition, infant/child burials were not specifically marked (other than being located in a bench), nor were they associated with offering holes.

Of the 13 infant/child burials, 11 were located in two rooms, EA-88 and EA-147; both of these rooms were part of high-status households (see Chapter 4). The concentration of Wari Burial Type 9 burials in two rooms suggests some children at Conchopata received special burial treatment. These children may have held a special status at Conchopata, perhaps as children of high-status families.

Alternatively, children may have been sacrificed as dedicatory offerings. Bourget's (2001) analysis of Moche child sacrifices and depictions of children in Moche art associate child sacrifice with whistles and whistling. He argues that child sacrifices were linked to the ancestors (2001:93). At Conchopata, numerous whistles have been found. However, in the present study, only one whistle was found in a tomb. EA-147/Burial #49 consisted of an infant buried sitting upright in the fetal position. Placed near this infant was a small bowl in which was placed a miniature urn, a miniature jar, and a whistle. Further, both EA-88 and EA-147 were located next to rooms in which high-status ancestors were venerated.

3.10. Summary of Mortuary Treatments

Isbell (2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) and Tung and Cook (2006) identified nine Wari burial types. Of these nine burial types, five were identified as part of the present dataset: Burial Types 1, 2, 4, 5, and 9. In Chapter 8, Conchopata burials were systematically compared along 15 different variables using a multidimensional scaling analysis. Although the Wari burial

types generally conform to the burial groups produced by the multidimensional scaling analysis, there were differences (see Table 5).

Table 5: Comparison of Isbell's Wari Burial Types to Burial Groups produced by multidimensional scaling analysis

Wari Burial Types	Groups produced by multidimensional scaling analysis (see Chapter 8)			
	1 (high-status)	2 (high-status)	3 (children)	4 (low-status)
1 (nonelite)			X	X
2 (nonelite)				X
4 (minor nobles)	X	X		
5 (rulers & family)	X	X		
9 (children)			X	

In general, Wari Burial Types 1, 2, and 9 were low-status tombs.¹ These three Wari burial types clustered into Groups 3 and 4 in the multidimensional scaling analysis. Groups 3 and 4 burials are interpreted in the present analysis as low-status burials. Isbell (2004:8) indicates that Burial Types 1 and 2 were similar, and that Burial Type 1 tombs probably evolved into Burial Type 2 tombs.

Wari Burial Types 4 and 5 were high-status tombs of nobles and rulers that clustered in Groups 1 and 2 in the multidimensional scaling analysis. Groups 1 and 2 burials are interpreted in the present analysis as high-status tombs. Again, Isbell (2004:10) acknowledges that Wari

¹ Though Wari Burial Type 9 represents infant/child bench burials that may have been a special form of burial accorded to elite children, for purposes of this discussion Burial Type 9 is considered low-status because even if these children were from the elite class, they were not privileged with tomb features (capstones and offering holes) and grave offerings (Wari blackware ceramics, *Spondylus*, greenstone, etc.) characteristic of adults found in elite tombs.

Burial Types 4 and 5 may have been variations of the same type of elite mortuary treatment. And, in fact, this interpretation is supported by the multidimensional scaling analysis that found Wari Burial Types 4 and 5 as very similar.

In general, there were high-status tombs, low-status tombs, and a special category of tombs housing only infants and children. In the above discussion of Conchopata tombs, children were found in several contexts. The most common was in high-status tombs that held multiple individuals of all ages. Infants were also put into large ollas and placed in tombs; it is unclear whether these olla burials were grave offerings or a burial form for infants. Children were also buried in bedrock pits beneath floors. Finally, infants/children were buried in benches in rooms. This special type of bench burial was almost exclusively found in Zone 5.

What is interesting about high-status tombs at Conchopata is that they were concealed from the public eye and kept within the domestic realm. This is very different from *chullpa* interment of the Late Intermediate Period in which community ancestors were kept in communal houses of the dead which were prominently located in the landscape away from residential settings. This is also very different from Inka mortuary practices where important ancestor mummy bundles were kept within the realm of the living and participated in daily life.

3.11. Evidence of Ancestor Veneration at Conchopata

The above description of burials illuminated several lines of evidence supporting the practice of ancestor veneration at Conchopata. McAnany's (1995) model of ancestor veneration among the ancient Maya provides several archaeological correlates to evaluate the presence of ancestor veneration in the archaeological record. The archaeological correlates evident at Conchopata include tomb features suggesting continued interaction with the dead, evidence for protracted burial rites, age bias, and rituals associated with the propitiation of the ancestors.

3.11.1. Continued interaction with the dead

One example of continued interaction with the dead was the presence of offering holes in high-status tombs through which the living could communicate with the dead. Offering holes were carved into capstones, floors, or benches, and they allowed direct access to the tomb below and were conduits through which offerings were made to the ancestors. Most offering holes were carved through the top of capstones or benches, though there are a few examples of offering holes constructed in the side of a bench.

Another example of continued interaction with the dead was the presence of offering houses. Offering houses were small rectangular structures built above tombs, and were located in Zones 4 and 5 at Conchopata. There were at least five offering houses at Conchopata: two in Mortuary Complex “A,” two in Mortuary Complex “B,” and one in EA-150. In the multidimensional scaling analysis of burials (see Chapter 8), EA-110 grouped together with tombs that had offering houses suggesting that this mortuary room may have had an offering house above its large below-floor bedrock tomb.

Offering houses were roofed and had small rectangular or trapezoidal “doorways.” All offering houses had offering holes. Through the doorways in offering houses, the living could access the offering holes which were located in the floor of the offering house. Presumably the living also periodically placed offerings of food, drink, and/or other items in the offering houses.

Finally, continued interaction with the dead is implied through tomb reuse, expansion, and/or remodeling as the community of ancestors grew and ancestral tombs were refurbished and maintained. Clear evidence of tomb reuse, expansion, and remodeling is found in Mortuary Complexes “A” and “B” and in EA-105. For example, EA-39 was the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex “B” and had evidence of both remodeling and expansion of burial facilities

such as replastering walls, floors, and offering houses; constructing new offering houses and sub-floor tombs; and expanding offering benches.

Based on a comparison of elite tombs at Huaro, Conchopata, and the Wari capital, Cook (2001:149, 154; also see Zapata 1997) argues that elites adhered to similar mortuary practices across the Wari Empire. Found at all three Wari sites were sub-floor cist tombs containing multiple individuals, high-status grave goods, and offering houses equipped with offering holes. This type of ancestor veneration involving continued interaction with the dead through offering holes was not present at Conchopata before Wari occupation of the site (Isbell 2004:6). Thus, a few interpretations can be put forth to explain the presence of this new form of ancestor veneration. Perhaps this special form of ancestor veneration was co-opted from the Wari state by high-status families at Conchopata seeking to enhance and/or gain power and prestige over their peers. Or, elites were sent from the Wari capital to govern Conchopata and brought their mortuary practices with them.

3.11.2. Protracted burial rites

There is ample evidence at Conchopata for protracted burial rites, such as tomb reopening, secondary burials, and manipulation of defleshed bones. For example, some of the bodies in the intact tomb EA-105/Burial #L2095 were slightly shifted out of anatomical position, suggesting they had been pushed to the side to allow placement of new individuals. In addition, some individuals were represented by a few bones suggesting that either individuals were removed but a few of their bones were left in the tomb or specific bones of individuals were later added to the tomb (Isbell 2004:13; Tung & Cook 2006). Finally, several human skeletal remains had cinnabar on their surfaces, and the cinnabar was often placed on the bones after the flesh had

decomposed (Cook 2004:159) providing undisputed evidence that human bones were manipulated long after the individual had died.

The tomb in EA-40A also exhibited evidence that bodies were moved aside to allow room for the placement of new individuals. Both EA-31/Burial #9 and EA-191/Burial #102 were intact tombs that contained one or more intact bodies plus a few bones representing one or more additional individuals.

Finally, Isbell (2004:15) argues that at least one tomb at Conchopata, that located beneath the large offering house in EA-150, was not only reopened to insert new bodies but was easily accessible through an opening in the floor that was normally kept sealed by stone slabs. If so, the tomb in EA-150 was the only one at Conchopata that was easily accessible by the living.

3.11.3. Age bias

At Conchopata, the evidence suggests that adults were the focus of ancestor veneration, and there is both direct and indirect evidence in support of this. An analysis of burials (see Chapter 8) found four major categories of burials: Group 1 and 2 burials (Wari Burial Types 4 and 5) were high-status burials that contained multiple individuals including both adults and children, Group 3 burials (Wari Burial Type 9) consisted of only infants/children, and Group 4 burials (Wari Burial Types 1 and 2) were low-status burials that contained adults only.

Despite the fact that all the burials in the present dataset that contained both adults and children were identified as high-status burials, several burials have been excavated at Conchopata that contained both adults and children that were clearly not high-status burials. For example, in EA-151 a sub-floor pit dug into bedrock contained the remains of five adults and two children but no grave goods.

High-status tombs contained the remains of individuals of all age ranges suggesting that these tombs held members of the same family. These tombs exhibit evidence for ancestor veneration in the form of communication devices such as offering holes and protracted burial rites such as tomb reopenings and manipulation of human skeletal remains. What is especially noteworthy is that offerings holes were only found with tombs that contained at least one adult. Infant/child burials never had offering holes. The implication is that high-status adults were probably the focus of ancestor veneration and that their family members, including children, merited burial in the family tomb.

Low-status tombs that held the remains of adults only were unmarked, subfloor tombs. These tombs included a few luxury grave goods, but nothing on the scale of that found in high-status tombs. Because unmarked sub-floor burials containing only adults are uncommon, the implication is that only certain adults among the lower-statuses achieved were accorded this form of burial. Both low-status tombs examined in the present research (EA-191/Burial #102 and EA-40A/Burial #83) provide evidence of ancestor veneration in the form of tomb reopening, manipulation of defleshed bones, and secondary burials. Thus, the presence of unmarked sub-floor burials containing only adults suggests some individuals of the lower-statuses were important enough to be kept close to the residence and venerated as ancestors.

According to Isbell (2002:36), only Conchopata's elite were venerated as ancestors. However, the present analysis suggests that both high- and low-status social segments revered their ancestors, but in different ways. Whereas both kept their venerated ancestors within residential settings, only high-status families maintained active lines of communication with their ancestors through the use of offering holes.

3.11.4. Propitiation of the ancestors

According to McAnany (1995:31-39), propitiation of the ancestors can take many forms including feasting activity, prestations of distinctive items, or dedicatory rituals. Examples of each have been uncovered at Conchopata.

One example of feasting activity directly associated with the propitiation of the ancestors is argued to have occurred in EA-110, located in Zone 3 (see Chapter 6). In this mortuary room, over 40 miniature ceramic urns were found, more than in any other architectural space in the present dataset. Elaborately decorated, oversized urns were probably used to serve *chicha* in large-scale community feasting events (Cook & Glowacki 2003); it was also the most important Andean beverage used in ritual (Bray 2003:97-8; Cook 2004). During pre-Hispanic times, *chicha* was given as offerings to the gods or ancestors (Bray 2003:132; Cook & Glowacki 2003:183; Goldstein 2003). Perhaps the concentration of mini-urns in EA-110 is evidence for elaborate feasting ceremonies that were related to ancestor veneration in which symbolically enormous quantities of *chicha* served in mini-urns were periodically offered to important ancestors by their living descendants.

Miniature ceramic vessels were also distinctive items associated with the propitiation of the ancestors. Though mini-vessels are represented in each burial type, they were predominantly found in high-status tombs (see Chapter 8). Specifically, mini-jars and mini-urns were almost exclusively found in high-status tombs. Ethnohistorically, miniatures have been used in the Andes to symbolically transfer offerings to the spirits (Sillar 2000:120, 2004:161). Perhaps at Conchopata, mini-jars and mini-urns held offerings of *chicha* and/or food that were placed in high-status tombs when requesting the help or influence of the ancestors.

Another example of a distinctive item associated with the propitiation of the ancestors was wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, an exotic good found only off the coast of Ecuador. The multidimensional scaling analysis of burials indicates that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was only found in tombs with offering holes (see Chapter 8). In fact, in the large below-floor tomb in EA-150 and the cist tomb in EA-38B, several pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* were found directly beneath the offering hole providing strong evidence that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was dropped into tombs through offering holes. *Spondylus* was considered a desirable item for use in the propitiation of ancestors.

Finally, infant/child bench burials (Wari Burial Type 9) may provide evidence of dedicatory rituals to the ancestors. A probable interpretation is that infant/child bench burials represent a special burial type accorded to children of high-status families. However, another possibility is that they were dedicatory burials associated with ancestor veneration.

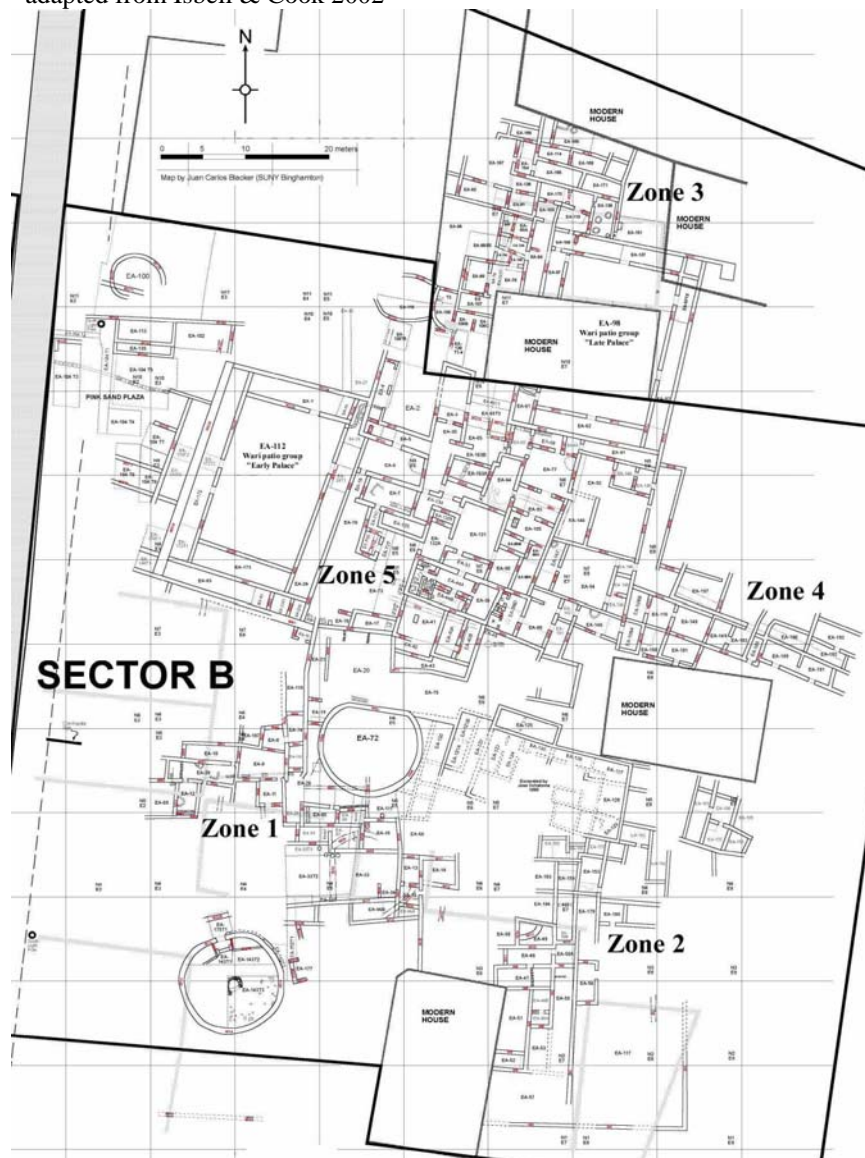
In summary, several lines of evidence indicate that ancestor veneration was practice by all social classes at Conchopata. Ancestors were guarded within the domestic realm, kept out of public view, and were only accessible to living descendants within the household. Ancestor veneration among the higher-statuses was qualitatively different than that practiced by those of lower-status. High-status ancestors were housed in more elaborate tombs located in rooms specifically set aside for mortuary rituals, were provided with more and better quality grave goods, and were directly accessible through offering holes. The practice of ancestor veneration was very important to residents of Conchopata's higher-status households.

4. CONCHOPATA HOUSEHOLDS

The present research analyzed 40 architectural spaces at Conchopata, all from Sector B (see Figure 29). A multidimensional scaling analysis (see Chapter 7) produced two general categories of rooms, those in which mortuary activity was prominent and those used as domestic/workshop spaces.

Figure 29: Sector B at Conchopata*

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



The identification of room function discussed below took into consideration the results of the multidimensional scaling analysis. In addition, though many rooms at Conchopata have two or more floors, room function was assessed based on the existing features in the room and the activities carried out during the final occupation of the room prior to abandonment.

4.1. General room characteristics

The site of Conchopata is mainly composed of agglutinated rooms that grew organically through time. The smallest rooms tend to represent passageways and domestic/kitchen spaces. The largest rooms tend to represent patios or workshops or were reserved for special purposes. Figure 30 shows the area in square meters of each room or architectural space analyzed. Figure 31 plots the frequency of room size which shows a relatively normal distribution of room area.

Figure 30: Room area in square meters

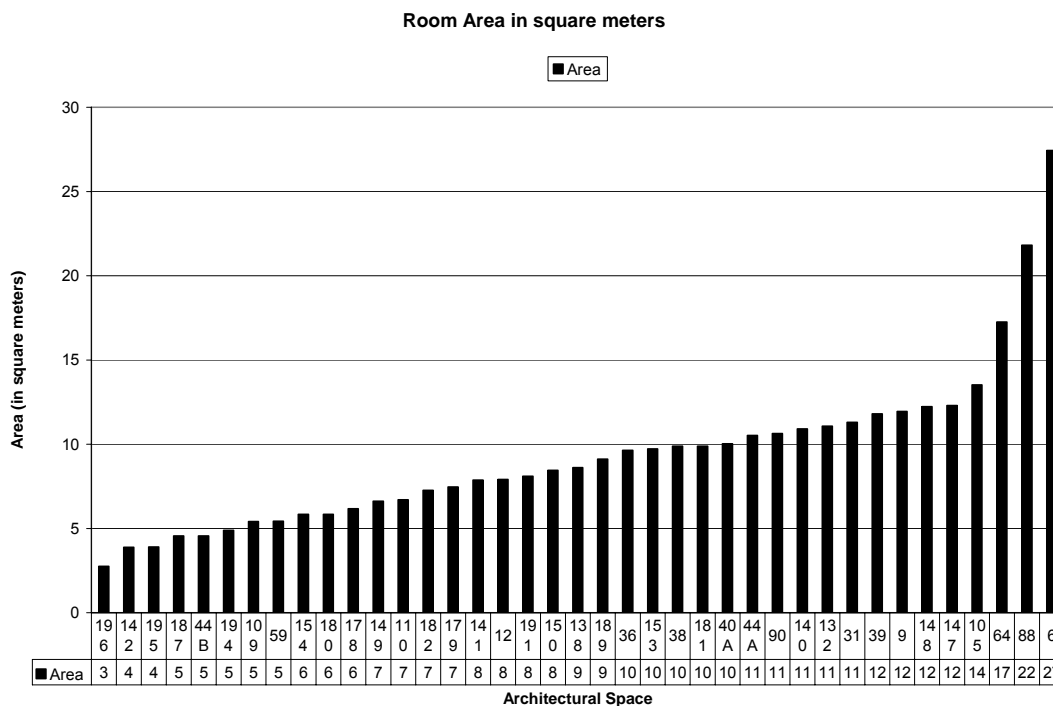
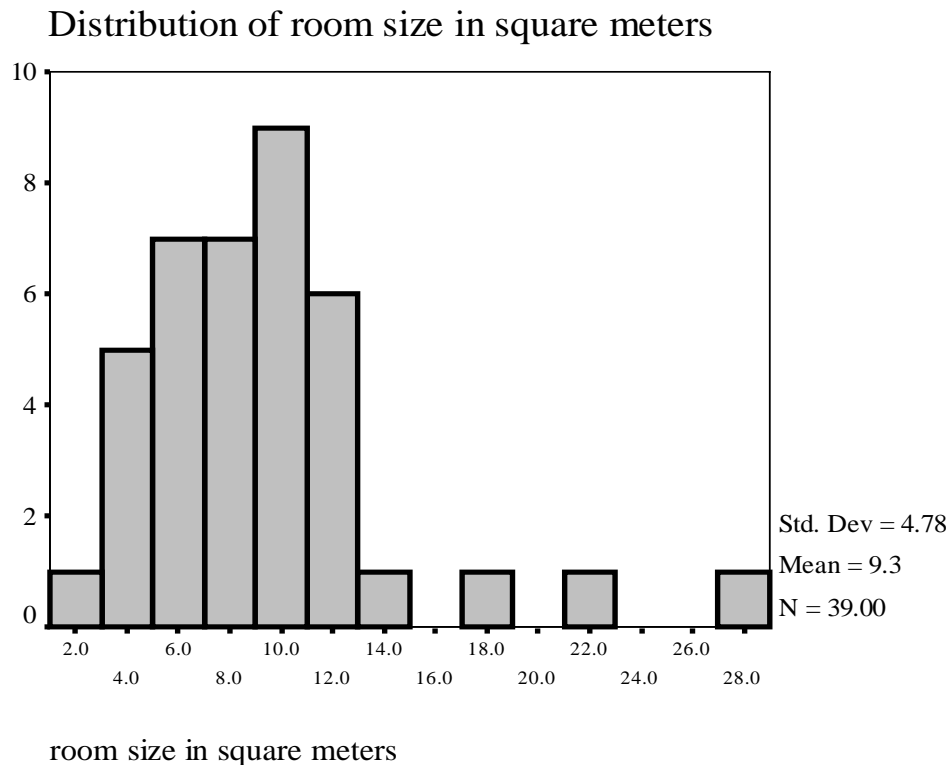


Figure 31: Histogram of frequency of room size in square meters



According to Blacker (2001), the walls of rooms throughout Conchopata were constructed with similar building materials (unmodified fieldstone and/or volcanic rock cemented together with a mud mortar mixed with small rocks) and technique (rubble masonry). Therefore, rooms at Conchopata are not notably distinct from each other in terms of building materials and construction technique. However, assuming that room size can be used as a measure of status or wealth, with high-status families living in larger spaces than low-status families, then high-status residential complexes should have larger rooms and thus should be larger overall than those occupied by the lower-statuses. This hypothesis is explored below.

Most of rooms at Conchopata exhibited evidence of disturbance in the form of intrusions in the floor, disturbed or looted burials, and/or modern-day trash or construction activity. Rooms were rectangular and the walls, averaging 35-55 cm in width, were usually built on

bedrock (Blacker 2001). The walls and floors of several rooms at Conchopata were carefully plastered and well-made, and some were clearly painted, usually red.

The three main types of floors were made of compacted dirt, crushed diatomaceous rock, or red clay (Blacker 2001). Dirt floors were the most common. Diatomaceous floors, resembling a white stucco-like pavement, were found in rooms with special functions such as D-shaped structures and mortuary complexes. Red clay floors were rare. The only room analyzed in the present research with a red clay floor was EA-6.

4.2. Rooms used as domestic/workshop spaces

Residential spaces at Conchopata consisted of one or more small rooms that opened onto a patio (Isbell 2002a:15). Daily domestic activities were carried out in the patio, with some patios having hearths. The surrounding rooms were used for sleeping and storage. Food preparation was also carried out in surrounding rooms as evidenced by the presence of hearths in the corner of some rooms. According to Isbell (2002), extended families probably sometimes shared a patio but maintained their own cooking area.

Valdez & Valdez's (1997) description of an Andean kitchen may help in the identification of pre-historic "kitchens" in the Andean highlands. The present-day Andean highland kitchen floor is a hard, compact, clean surface with a few dark, burned spots in the floor, and was likely swept everyday.

4.2.1. Patios

4.2.1.1. EA-6

EA-6, located in Zone 5, was probably a patio though it was also an important locus of mortuary activity. It is the largest of the spaces analyzed, measuring 27.8 m². There were two entrances leading into this patio, one from EA-5 in the north wall and the other from EA-16 in the south

wall; neither of these spaces was analyzed. EA-5 may have been a passageway (Isbell 2002b:31). The function of EA-16 is unknown. EA-6 had stucco-like plastered walls and floor; its floor was covered with a thin red clay finish. Along the south wall, beneath the floor, was a camelid offering.

In the northeast corner of EA-6 was a bench that served as a capstone for the underlying bedrock tomb. This bench had an offering hole. The offering hole had traces of red pigment on it, suggesting the bench was painted red. Another bench was present along the east wall, though it was mostly destroyed. A burial of a child was placed in the floor to the west of the tomb.

4.2.1.2. EA-9

EA-9, located in Zone 1, was probably an interior patio though it was also an important locus of mortuary activity. There were two entrances leading into this patio, one from EA-11 in the south wall and the other from EA-187 in the north wall. The function of EA-11 is unknown. EA-187 was probably used for special activities (see below). Though the walls were not plastered, EA-9 had a stucco-like plastered floor. However, the floor was probably part of a large plastered surface that was prepared before construction of the early D-shaped structure located to the east of EA-9 (Blacker 2001). In the northwest corner of EA-9 was a bench that served as a capstone for an underlying bedrock tomb. A canal ran beneath the floor along the south wall, and there was a hearth in the northeast corner of the room.

4.2.1.3. EA-64

EA-64, located in Zone 5, was probably a small patio, though it was also used for special purposes such as mortuary activities. Of the 40 spaces analyzed as part of this research, EA-64 was the third largest, encompassing 17.1 m². It had two doorways; the doorway in the west wall

was closed off but led into a long unexcavated rectangular space, and the one in the east wall was partially closed off and led into EA-93. EA-93 probably served a domestic function (Isbell 2002b:79).

EA-64 had stucco-like plastered walls and floor. In the south end of the room were a series of benches of varying heights. Tombs lay beneath the floor along the south wall though the associated benches were partially destroyed and the burials disturbed. One of the terminal events in this patio was the smashing of numerous plainware ceramics, including jars and ollas, in the middle of the room on the floor. At least two camelid offerings were found beneath the floor along the east wall. A small pit along the west wall contained an offering of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and guinea pig bones.

4.2.1.4. EA-148

EA-148, located in Zone 4, was probably a small patio where special activities took place. The contexts in this room were intact and provide important information about the types of ceremonial activities that took place at Conchopata. EA-148 had two doorways, one in the south wall leading into EA-181 and the other in the west wall leading into EA-116. EA-181 was probably used for domestic activity. EA-116 may have been a room for storage (Isbell 2002b:116). The doorway leading to EA-116 had been closed off. EA-148 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls.

Along the east wall of EA-148 was a bench with an offering hole. This is the only bench at Conchopata with an offering hole that did not have a burial beneath it. Within this offering hole were a nearly complete *Spondylus* shell and a potter's tool (*paleta*; see Figure 43 below).

Before EA-148 was abandoned, an offering of 25 ceramic vessels was placed in a bedrock pit beneath the floor; a nearby pit was filled with disarticulated animal bones, most

likely remnants of feasting activity. A ceremony then took place that ended with the smashing of different types of ceramic vessels on the floor of the room. Also found beneath the floor in sealed contexts were a camelid offering and an offering of a single olla that was broken and its pieces placed in a shallow pit.

4.2.2. Domestic/Workshops spaces

4.2.2.1. EA-12

EA-12, located in Zone 1, was probably a domestic or workshop space. It had a single doorway in its north wall which led into EA-28. Though not part of this analysis, EA-28 was probably a small patio; it had one of the best examples of a hearth at Conchopata. EA-12 had a semi-circular bench along the west wall that may have functioned as a work table. A canal ran beneath the floor along the south wall. EA-12 had mud plastered walls and a stucco-like plastered floor, but like the floor in EA-9 it was probably part of a prepared surface associated with an earlier D-shaped structure to the east.

4.2.2.2. EA-59

EA-59, located in Zone 5, was probably a domestic space based on its lack of features and the artifacts recovered. It had two doorways. One doorway in the west wall led into EA-60 and one in the south wall into EA-77; neither of these spaces were analyzed as part of this research. EA-77 was a large patio. The function of EA-60 is unknown. EA-59 had a compact dirt floor, mud plastered walls, and a canal that ran beneath the floor along the north wall.

4.2.2.3. EA-90

EA-90, located in Zone 5, was most likely a domestic room. It had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls, and the lack of features and cultural materials suggests it was used for storage

and/or sleeping. It had a single doorway in the west wall that led into EA-131, which was an interior patio. A bench took up the southern half of EA-90.

4.2.2.4. EA-132

EA-132, located in Zone 5, was a domestic space and/or workshop. It had two doorways, one in the east wall which led into EA-131 (a patio) and the other in the west wall which led into an unexcavated space. This room had a stucco-like plastered floor and mud plastered walls. EA-132 was entirely filled with a light gray ashy soil suggesting it was intentionally closed off upon abandonment of the room.

Lying on the floor of EA-132 were two large mortars and two metates. A small, storage-like space along the north wall was separated from the rest of the room by a thin wall. On the floor of this storage area was a small set of potter's tools including four smoothing tools, one polishing stone, two animal bone artifacts, two molds, and two potter's wheel fragments.

4.2.2.5. EA-140

EA-140, located in Zone 5, was a domestic space and/or workshop. This room had three doorways, one in the west wall (which was closed off) leading to EA-142, another in the east wall leading into EA-108A, and a third in the south wall leading into an unexcavated area. EA-142 was a small room that was part of Mortuary Complex "B." The function of EA-108A is unknown. EA-140 had mud plastered walls and a compact dirt floor. There was a semi-circular bench along the north wall that probably functioned as a work table. Another bench was located along the east wall. In the northwest corner of the room was a hearth.

4.2.2.6. EA-147

EA-147, located in Zone 5, was a domestic space and/or workshop. It had two doorways, one in the east wall leading into EA-54 (a possible patio) and another in the west wall leading into EA-105 (a mortuary room). EA-147 had a compact dirt floor and benches along its north and south walls. At some point, this room served a special function based on the presence of several infant/child burials located in the bench along the south wall.

4.2.2.7. EA-149

EA-149, located in Zone 4, was probably a domestic space. The single doorway in the east wall led into EA-182. The function of EA-182 was also probably domestic. EA-149 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls. A hearth was located in the northeast corner of the room next to the entrance. One of the final activities carried out in this room, perhaps associated with a ceremonial closing of the room upon abandonment, involved the intentional placement and deposition of luxury items on the floor and in pits in the floor. Three pits in the floor contained a few luxury items made of *Spondylus*, greenstone, and mother-of-pearl. Several pieces of *Spondylus* and greenstone objects were also found on the floor. These types of artifacts are almost exclusively found in burial or offering contexts which suggests that their presence on the floor and in pits in the floor in EA-149 was intentional.

4.2.2.8. EA-154

EA-154, located in Zone 3, was a domestic space and/or workshop. It had two doorways, one in the east wall leading into EA-165 and the other in the west wall leading into EA-167; the function of these two spaces is unknown. EA-154 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls. Along the north wall was a bench. Within this bench were a child burial and a camelid

offering; both had been placed into the bench after the bench was constructed and perhaps represent the last activities carried out in this room prior to abandonment.

4.2.2.9. EA-180

EA-180, located in Zone 2, was a domestic space. It had a single doorway in the south wall that led into an unexcavated area. This room had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls. There was a hearth in the southwest corner of the room next to the doorway. Other than a camelid offering beneath the floor, there were no other remarkable features in this room.

4.2.2.10. EA-181

EA-181, located in Zone 4, was probably a domestic space and/or workshop. This room had two doorways, one in the north wall leading into patio EA-148 and the other in the south wall leading into an unexcavated area. EA-181 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls. There was a bench along the west wall and a hearth in the southeast corner of the room. EA-181 and EA-148 share the same floor indicating they were contemporaneously in use.

4.2.2.11. EA-182

EA-182, located in Zone 4, was probably a domestic space. It had a doorway in the west wall leading into EA-149 and one in the north wall leading into an unexcavated area. EA-182 had a bench along the south wall and a hearth in the southeast corner of the room; beneath this hearth was a pit filled with disarticulated animal bones, possibly a refuse pit. Another possible hearth was located next to the door in the west wall. EA-182 had a stucco-like plastered floor and mud plastered walls.

Like EA-149, one of the final activities carried out in EA-182 involved the intentional placement and deposition of luxury items on and near the floor. Both of these rooms may have

been part of the same ceremony involving the intentional closing of the rooms upon abandonment. Numerous luxury items including objects of greenstone, *Spondylus*, and crystal were found in EA-182 throughout the room fill and in an intrusion located along the west wall.

4.2.2.12. EA-189

EA-189, located in Zone 4, was probably a domestic space and/or workshop. It had two doorways, one in the east wall leading into EA-191 and another in the south wall that led into an unexcavated space. The south doorway in EA-189 had been closed off. EA-191 was also a domestic space and/or workshop. EA-189 and EA-191 originally comprised a single long rectangular space that was later divided with the placement of a wall between them; a doorway in this wall allowed movement between the two rooms. EA-189 had a compact dirt floor and the evidence indicates that the walls were finished with a stucco-like plaster. In the northeast corner of the room were two pits in the floor filled with disarticulated animal bones. Many potter's tools were found associated with the floor including two potter's wheels, three smoothing tools (*paletas*), and five molds.

4.2.2.13. EA-191

EA-191, located in Zone 4, probably served as a domestic space and/or workshop. Like EA-189, EA-191 had two doorways, one in the west wall leading into EA-189 and another in the south wall leading into an unexcavated space. The south doorway had been closed off. EA-191 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls. A pit in the northwest corner of the room was filled with animal bones; this pit was a part of the same pit found in the northeast corner of EA-189. Beneath the floor in the northeast corner of EA-191 was a burial of an adult female.

4.2.2.14. EA-194

EA-194, located in Zone 5, was a domestic space. It had two doorways, one in the north wall leading into EA-195 and one in the west wall leading into EA-54. EA-54 is an unexcavated area that may have been a patio. EA-195 was a domestic space. Both EA-194 and EA-195 share the same stratigraphy and floor indicating they were contemporaneous in use. The above-floor fill in both rooms was mainly ash suggesting that these two rooms were intentionally closed off prior to abandonment. EA-194 had a compact dirt floor and a possible hearth in the southwest corner next to the door.

4.2.2.15. EA-195

EA-195, located in Zone 5, was a domestic space, perhaps a room for storage and/or sleeping. It had a single doorway in the south wall leading into EA-194. EA-195 had a compact dirt floor and the above-floor fill was mainly ash, suggesting it was intentionally closed off upon abandonment. It had no artifacts or features of note.

4.2.3. Passageways

4.2.3.1. EA-109

EA-109, located in Zone 3, was a small room located in the northwest corner in one of the side galleries of the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. EA-109 was probably an entryway into EA-98. EA-109 had three doorways, one in the north wall leading into EA-110, one in the south wall leading into EA-87, and one in the east wall leading into EA-137. EA-110 was a mortuary room. EA-87 was looted and destroyed suggesting it was a room of importance (Isbell 2002b:77); it may have been a mortuary room because two possible bedrock tombs were found beneath the

floor (Blacker 2001). EA-137 was a long side gallery. EA-109 had a stucco-like plastered floor and its walls were finished with a mud plaster.

4.2.3.2. EA-196

EA-196, located in Zone 5, was probably a small passageway that allowed entry into a small residential complex. This passageway had two doorways, one in the west wall leading into patio EA-54 and the other in the east wall leading into an unexcavated area. EA-196 had a compact dirt floor.

4.2.4. Other

4.2.4.1. EA-40A

EA-40A, located in Zone 5, was probably a domestic space though it had a large below-floor tomb. It had a single doorway in the east wall that led into EA-40B, a room that contained several camelid burials but was not analyzed as part of the present research. EA-40A and EA-40B were contemporaneous (they share three superimposed floors). The earliest stucco-like plastered floor corresponds to the prepared surface associated with the early D-shaped structure to the south. The two later floors were compact dirt floors. None of the walls were plastered. EA-40A had a bedrock tomb beneath the floor in the northeast corner of the room. A bench was located in the middle of the room.

4.2.4.2. EA-187

EA-187, located in Zone 1, may have originally been used for special activity then later used for domestic purposes. This room had a doorway in the south wall that led into patio EA-9. EA-187 had a stucco-like plastered floor and walls. A concentration of human bones was found in the southeast corner of the room but no definite tombs were identified.

During the earliest occupation of this room, a camelid offering was placed in a pit in the middle of the plastered floor; an offering hole in the floor allowed access to this camelid offering. Later, two camelid offerings were placed into pits in the floor near the south doorway and the entire surface of the room was covered over with a second plastered floor. With the placement of the second floor, a north wall was built to close off the space. One of these plastered floors was probably part of a prepared surface associated with the construction of the earlier D-shaped structure to the southeast.

The last occupation in EA-187 was associated with a compact dirt floor laid over the second plastered floor. During the last occupation, two large pits were dug into the southeast and northeast corners of the room. The floor of the last occupation had evidence of extensive burning along the south and west walls.

4.3. Rooms used for mortuary activity

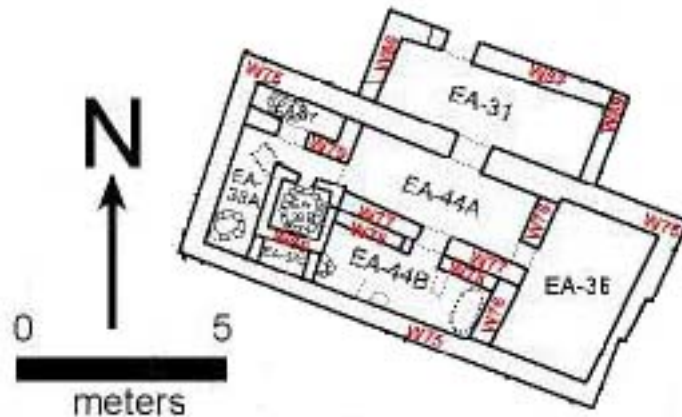
4.3.1. Mortuary Complexes

Conchopata has two multi-room mortuary complexes, each associated with a different household. These complexes contained several burials and exhibited evidence for ceremonial activities such as intentional ceramic smashes on the floors, feasting activity, and ancestor veneration.

4.3.1.1. Mortuary Complex "A"

Mortuary Complex "A," located in Zone 5, consisted of five main rooms: EA-31, EA-36, EA-38, EA-44A, and EA-44B (see Figure 32). Within EA-38 were EA-38B and EA-37. Entrance into the mortuary complex was through an open patio, EA-131. The walls and floors of the rooms in Mortuary Complex "A" were finished with a stucco-like plaster. Some walls show evidence of having been painted.

Figure 32: Mortuary Complex "A"



The entrance into Mortuary Complex "A" was through a single doorway located in the north wall of EA-31. Another doorway in EA-31 led into EA-44A. The bench along the east wall of EA-31 had traces of red pigment on its surface. In addition, a small fragment of plaster was found that had a brown background and feline motif. Perhaps the walls in this room were decorated with images of felines. There were at least two burials beneath the bench and a ceramic smash on the floor. One of the burials was intact.

EA-44A was the central room in Mortuary Complex "A" and had doorways leading into the four other rooms. Burials were placed beneath the floor of this room into pits dug into bedrock. However, because of incomplete field notes, there is very little information about these burials. Two camelid offerings were located beneath the floor along the north wall.

The east doorway of EA-44A led into EA-36. This room also had a ceramic smash on its floor. Two pits along the north wall were filled with disarticulated animal bones, perhaps the remnants of feasting activity.

The west doorway of EA-44A led into EA-38. Within EA-38 were an offering house (EA-38B) and a very small room (EA-37). Beneath EA-38B was a large, circular cist tomb with

an offering hole in its capstone. EA-37 may have been an offering house; beneath its floor were two cist tombs. Beneath the floor along the west wall of EA-38 were two circular cist tombs.

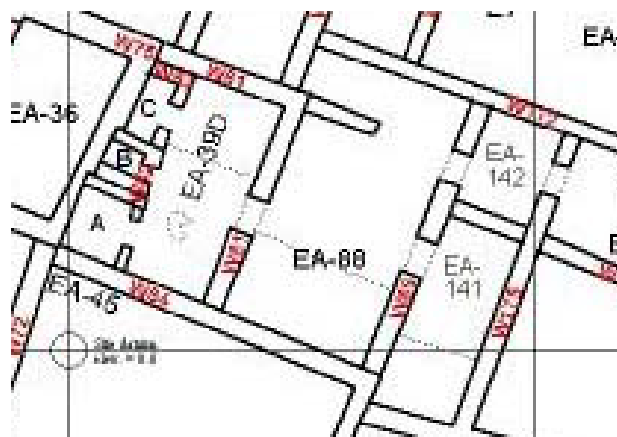
The south doorway of EA-44A led into EA-44B. EA-44B was heavily disturbed. A probable offering house was constructed along the western half of EA-44B. Beneath this offering house was a circular cist tomb that probably had an offering hole in its capstone. The evidence indicates that a bench/capstone was located along the eastern wall of EA-44B beneath which was a shallow, below-floor bedrock tomb.

In summary, all of the rooms in Mortuary Complex "A" contained human burials, except EA-36. This complex was very disturbed, though it had one intact burial located in EA-31. EA-36 may have been a room devoted to ceremonial activity associated with funerary rites; alternatively, it was intended for human burials but the mortuary complex fell out of use or was intentionally abandoned.

4.3.1.2. Mortuary Complex "B"

Mortuary Complex "B," located in Zone 5, consisted of at least four rooms: EA-39, EA-88, EA-141, and EA-142 (see Figure 33). EA-39 was divided into four spaces: EA-39A, EA-39B, EA-39C, and EA-39D. Entrance into the mortuary complex was through EA-141.

Figure 33: Mortuary Complex "B"



EA-39 was the main burial chamber of Mortuary Complex "B." It had stucco-like plastered walls and floors. Its single doorway led into EA-88 which is the central room of Mortuary Complex "B." The walls and floor of EA-39 were replastered a few times to accommodate the construction of new offering houses and tombs. There is evidence of red paint on the north wall.

EA-39A was a small room with a bench along its west wall and a circular cist tomb beneath the bench. Both EA-39B and EA-39C were offering houses with a cist tomb beneath them. EA-39C had an offering hole in its capstone.

EA-39D was the main room of EA-39 and encompasses the eastern half of the room. The northern half of EA-39D was about 10 cm higher than the southern half. Beneath the northern half of EA-39D were two subfloor rectangular chambers which were probably tombs. Another bedrock tomb extended north of the eastern subterranean chamber. In the approximate middle of EA-39D was a circular, mound-shaped bench with a flat top. Beneath this bench was a shallow pit dug into bedrock. This pit yielded no artifacts.

EA-88 was the central room in Mortuary Complex "B." The floor and walls in this room were finished with a stucco-like plaster. EA-88 had three doorways. Two doorways were located in the east wall, one leading into EA-142 and the other into EA-141. A third doorway in the west wall led into EA-39, the main burial chamber. EA-88 had several special features. The bench along the south wall contained six infant/child burials. A pit along the west wall was filled with animal bones, perhaps the remnants of feasting activity and above this pit was a ceramic smash. And a possible bench along the north wall had several special finds associated with it.

The entrance into Mortuary Complex "B" was through a single doorway located in the east wall of EA-141. A doorway in the west wall of EA-141 led into EA-88. The area east of EA-141 has not been excavated. EA-141 had a bench along its south wall and a possible hearth in its northwest corner. This room had mud plastered walls and a compact dirt floor.

Finally, EA-142 was a small room in Mortuary Complex "B" and it is unclear how it was used. Intrusions along the north and east walls were filled with disarticulated animal bones, mostly camelid. This room had two doorways, one in the east wall which led into EA-140 (a workshop and/or domestic space) and one in the west wall which led into EA-88. EA-142 may have originally served as a small passageway allowing entry into Mortuary Complex "B" through the doorway in its east wall, but this doorway had been closed off. EA-142 had a compact dirt floor.

4.3.1.3. Comparisons between Mortuary Complex "A" and "B"

The two mortuary complexes are similar in several ways. Each had walls and floors finished with a stucco-like plaster; evidence indicates that some of the walls were painted red or with animal designs or motifs. Each mortuary complex had at least one room that was devoted to tombs, and these tombs held the remains of children and adults. Within each complex were at least two offering houses with offering holes. Each mortuary complex could only be entered through a single entrance, and both had a central room through which all other rooms in the complex could be accessed. Finally, at least one room in each complex had ceramic smashes on its floor and evidence for feasting activity.

Though Mortuary Complex "A" had five rooms and Mortuary Complex "B" had four rooms, they were comparable in size, 45.12 m² and 45.42 m² respectively. Both had Wari Burial Type 4 and 5 tombs, which were high-status tombs.

Despite their similarities, the two Conchopata mortuary complexes differed from one another in several ways. Mortuary Complex “A” appears to have been specifically constructed to serve as a mortuary facility because four of its five rooms contained tombs and it was symmetrical in layout. Mortuary Complex “B” appears to have developed more organically, perhaps with EA-39 specifically constructed as a mortuary room with adjoining rooms later incorporated as the number of tombs in EA-39 increased along with the activities associated with mortuary ceremonies and rituals occurring in EA-39.

Regarding burials, Mortuary Complex “B” had Wari Burial Type 9 infant/child bench burials, all located in EA-88. Mortuary Complex “A” did not have infant/child bench burials. Also, Mortuary Complex “B” had two small, rectangular, subterranean burial chambers beneath the floor in its main burial chamber. None of the rooms in Mortuary Complex “A” had comparable burial chambers.

4.3.2. Mortuary Rooms

Several rooms at Conchopata were specifically used to house tombs. Isbell (2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) refers to the use of these rooms as Wari Burial Type 5, a mortuary room interment.

4.3.2.1. EA-105

EA-105, located in Zone 5, was a mortuary room with the large bedrock tomb located beneath the floor in the western end of the room. A freestanding bench with offering holes was constructed above the bedrock tomb. This room had three doorways, one in the north wall leading into EA-89B, one in the east wall leading into EA-147, and one in the south wall leading into EA-93. The function of EA-89B is unknown. EA-93 probably served a domestic function

(Isbell 2002b:79). EA-147 was a domestic/workshop space. EA-105 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls.

4.3.2.2. EA-110

EA-110, located in Zone 3, was probably a mortuary room. This room was heavily disturbed though it appears to have contained a large, sub-floor, bedrock tomb; human remains of at least 16 individuals were scattered throughout the room and its contexts. The walls were finished with a stucco-like plaster but the floor was completely destroyed. Traces of red paint were found on one of the walls. EA-110 had two doorways, one in the south wall leading into EA-109 and one in the north wall leading into EA-170. EA-109 was an entryway into the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. The function of EA-170 is unknown.

4.3.2.3. EA-138

EA-138, located in Zone 3, was a mortuary room. This room contained at least four sub-floor, circular, stone-lined cist tombs, at least two of which were capped by benches. This room was heavily disturbed, with a modern trench that cut through the middle of the room. Along with EA-150, gold was found in EA-138. The walls and floor of this room were finished with a stucco-like plaster. This room had two doorways, one in the west wall leading into EA-170 and the other in the east wall leading into EA-151; both of these doorways had been closed off suggesting that this room was intentionally closed off upon abandonment. As noted above, the function of EA-170 is unknown. EA-151 was probably an open patio (Isbell 2002b:129).

4.3.2.4. EA-150

EA-150, located in Zone 4, was a mortuary room. This room had a doorway in the south wall that led into an unexcavated area and another in the north wall that was closed off but led into

EA-116. EA-116 may have been used for storage (Isbell 2002b:116). EA-150 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls.

EA-150 contained a large, rectangular tomb dug deep into bedrock along its west wall. Above this tomb was a large, spectacular offering house with a rounded cornice along its roof and a small trapezoidal opening allowing access to its interior. On the floor of the offering house was an offering hole that allowed access to the tomb below. Traces of red paint were found on the offering house. Several adornments made of gold were found in the tomb.

4.3.2.5. EA-153

EA-153, located in Zone 2, was a mortuary room. There was one doorway in the east wall leading into an unexcavated space. EA-153 had stucco-like plastered floor and walls. The floor in the southern one-third of the room was about 3 cm higher than in the rest of the room. The above-floor fill in EA-153 consisted of a predominantly ashy soil, suggesting the room had been intentionally closed off prior to abandonment.

Along the south wall of EA-153 were two benches, at least one of which had an offering hole. Beneath these benches were below-floor bedrock tombs. Along the center of the north wall was a small bench that held an intact offering of numerous pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone.

4.3.2.6. EA-178

EA-178, located in Zone 2, was a room where mortuary activity was prominent. The only doorway found was in the north wall and it led into EA-159; the function of EA-159 is unknown. Modern construction activity destroyed the southern end of this room. EA-178 had a compact dirt floor and mud plastered walls. Beneath the bench along its north wall were two below-floor

bedrock tombs. The bench had a small rectangular opening in its side that allowed access to at least one of the cist tombs.

4.3.2.7. EA-179

EA-179, located in Zone 2, was a mortuary room. Like EA-178, the southern end of the room was destroyed by modern construction activity; a doorway was never found for this room and presumably it was located in the southern end of the room. The floor was a compact dirt floor and the walls were mud plastered. Along the west wall was a large bedrock tomb. Though this room was heavily disturbed, there are remains of a bench along the west wall that served as a capstone for the tomb below. Fragments of plaster indicate that the bench was painted red.

4.4. Conchopata Households

Based on the above room descriptions, several domestic units and households can be identified. All are located in Sector B (see Figure 29 above). Because of the complicated layout of rooms at Conchopata, it is difficult to discern exactly how many rooms made up a single household. Therefore, households will be conservatively delineated.

Figure 34 shows a histogram of household area. In general, households at Conchopata fall into two broad categories based on area: those over 400 m² and those less than 100 m². The two Wari patio groups/palaces dramatically stand out in size.

Table 6 shows the total area for each household discussed below. Conchopata households roughly fall into three size categories: small households (less than 60 m²), large households (between 80 to 100 m²), and Wari patio groups/palaces (greater than 400 m²). Households with mortuary complexes and rooms stand out from other households.

Figure 34: Histogram of household area

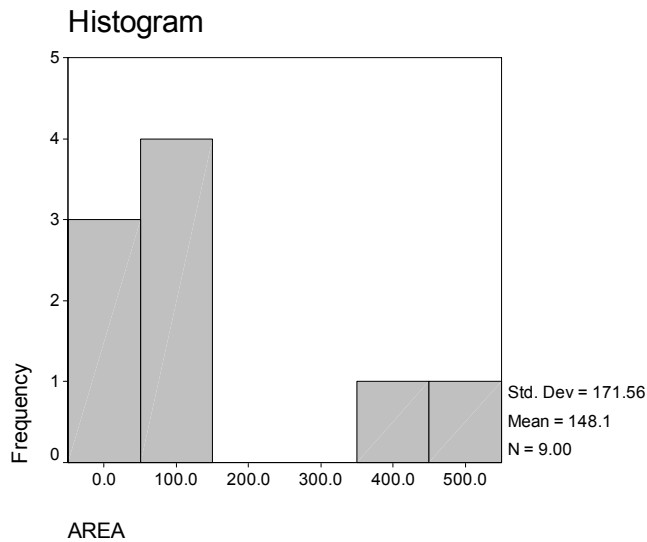


Table 6: Size of Conchopata households (in square meters)

Category	Household	Size
Small households	Associated with EA-9 patio	23 m ²
	Associated with EA-28 patio	34 m ²
	Associated with EA-148 patio	47 m ²
	Associated with EA-54 patio	56 m ²
Large households	Associated with Mortuary Complex “B”	84 m ²
	Associated with Mortuary Complex “A”)	96 m ²
	Associated with EA-77 patio	101 m ²
Wari patio groups/palaces	EA-98 (late Wari patio group/palace)	418 m ²
	EA-112 (early Wari patio group/palace)	474 m ²

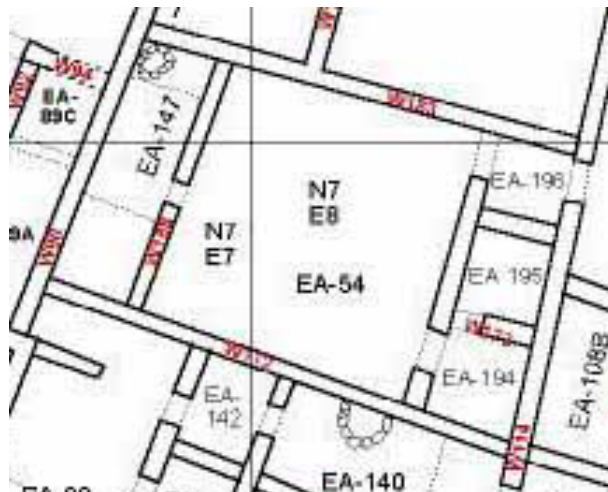
4.4.1. Small households

At the Wari site of Cerro Baúl in southern Peru, the basic domestic unit of artisans or subsistence-level farmers was a small roofed room adjacent to an open patio (Nash 2003:50-1; Williams 2001:76). The roofed room often had a raised platform which probably functioned as a table or work surface. Some of these domestic units also had separate storage facilities or workshops. This same pattern occurs at Conchopata, with one or more small rooms opening onto an open patio (Isbell 2002a:15). Daily domestic activities were carried out in the patio, while the surrounding rooms were used for sleeping, storage, and/or food preparation.

Working from the above pattern of a basic domestic unit, the present research identified several possible domestic units at Conchopata. These domestic units minimally consisted of a small room with a hearth and another small room for sleeping and/or storage, both adjacent to an open patio.

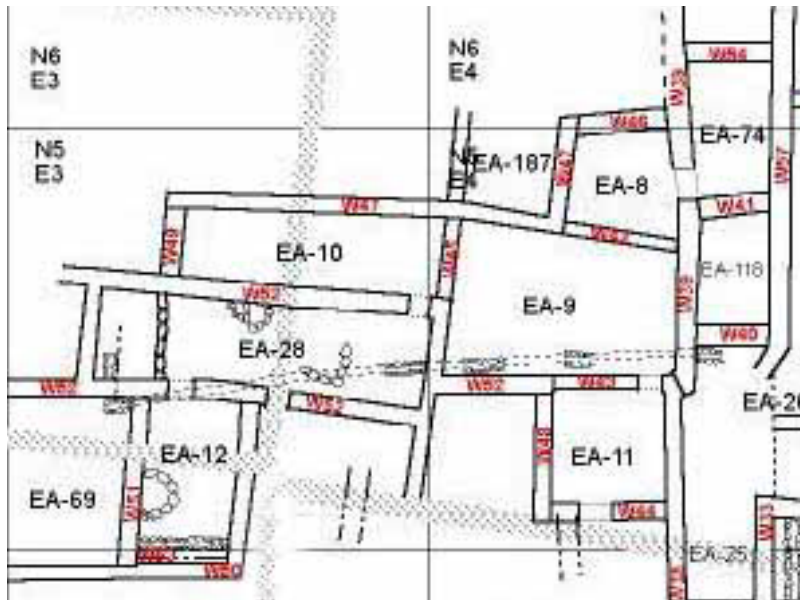
One example of a basic domestic unit at Conchopata was centered on EA-54, an unexcavated space that may be a central patio (see Figure 35). Entrance into this domestic unit was through EA-196. EA-194 was a small room where domestic activities such as food preparation were carried out based on the presence of a hearth located next to the door. Attached to EA-194 was a small room, EA-195, that contained relatively few artifacts and no features of note, suggesting it was a room used for sleeping and/or storage. Finally, across the interior patio was EA-147. EA-147 may have served a special function because of several infant/child bench burials located along its south wall. However, at some point this room may have functioned as a domestic/workshop space. Several grinding stones, and potter's tools were recovered near the floor contexts of this room. The EA-54 household, which covered about 56 m², was probably of lower-status, perhaps occupied by retainers associated with the EA-77 household since it directly connects with this household through a doorway in EA-147.

Figure 35: Domestic unit centered on EA-54, located in Zone 5



Isbell (in Isbell & Cook 2002:295) argues that a ceramic workshop was centered on patio EA-9 (see Figure 36). If EA-9 represents a workshop and living space, then the rooms minimally associated with it include EA-187 and EA-11. EA-187 originally served a special purpose associated with several below-floor camelid offerings. The function of EA-11 is unknown. EA-9 had a subfloor tomb in the northwest corner of the patio. The domestic unit centered around EA-9 was minimally about 23 m².

Figure 36: Workshops centered on EA-9 and EA-28, located in Zone 1



Another ceramic workshop/domestic unit was probably centered on EA-28 (see Figure 36 above). Though not analyzed as part of the present research, EA-28 had a large hearth and a below-floor canal suggesting this space was an open patio where daily domestic activities took place. EA-28 led into EA-10, EA-12, and an unexcavated space to the south. EA-12 was probably used as a workshop; it had a semi-circular bench that may have functioned as a work table and a below-floor canal running along its south wall. The function of EA-10 is unknown.

In Zone 4, a series of interconnected rooms represents another possible household centered on the EA-148 patio (see Figure 37). This household minimally consisted of EA-108B, EA-116, EA-148, EA-150, and EA-181. The function of EA-108B is unknown, though its location within the residential complex suggests it was used for storage and/or sleeping. EA-116 had a huge ceramic smash on its floor; this room may have been used for storage (Isbell 2002b:116). The ceremonial closing of EA-148 was associated with feasting and a pot smashing ceremony. EA-150 was a mortuary room. EA-181 was probably domestic in function; its south doorway may have been the primary entryway into this household. If this household was centered on EA-148, then it was minimally about 47 m² in size. On the other hand, EA-150 also had a doorway in its south wall. Thus, it is possible that both EA-150 and EA-181 open onto an open patio to the south (which is covered by a partially constructed modern-day house) indicating this household was much larger in size.

Figure 37: Household associated with EA-148, located in Zone 4



EA-180, located in the southeastern area of Sector B, was a small room where daily domestic activities were carried out (see Figure 38). This room had a hearth next to its single

doorway. Unfortunately, it is unknown how EA-180 connected to the rooms around it. It was located next to a concentration of three mortuary rooms (EA-153, EA-178, and EA-179).

Figure 38: EA-180 domestic unit, located in Zone 2



4.4.2. Large households

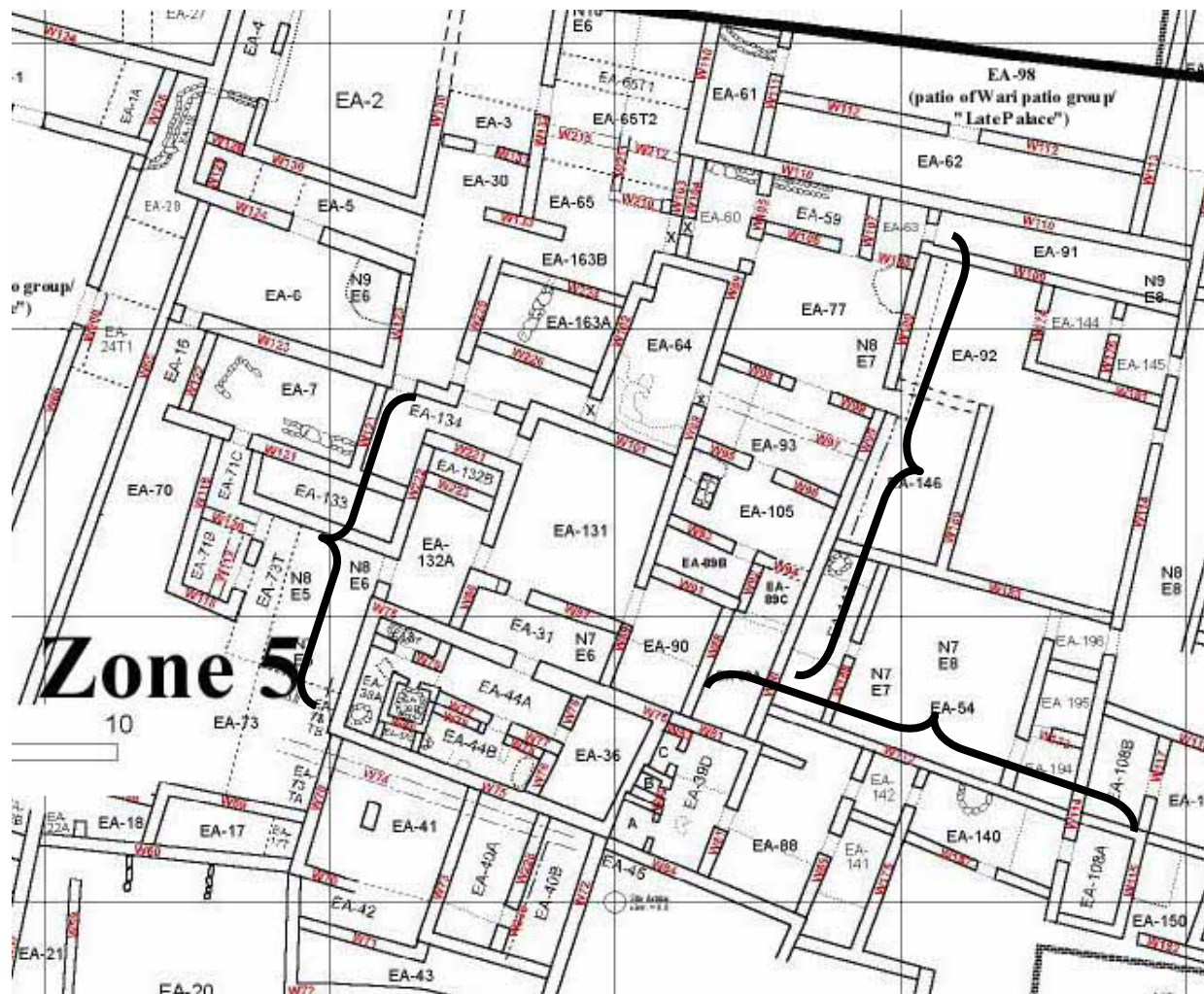
According to Isbell (2002a:14), the central area of Sector B at Conchopata, located south of the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace, consisted of a single elite residential compound composed of several related households that were inhabited by the extended family of one of Conchopata's ruler. These elite households centered on patios EA-77, EA-131, and EA-6. However, because of the special nature of EA-6 with its red floor and the fact that it is not surrounded by smaller rooms where domestic activity was likely to occur, it is unlikely that it was the central patio of a household. The present study also identified a household centered on Mortuary Complex "B."

4.4.2.1. Household associated with Mortuary Complex "A"

Two separate households were associated with Mortuary Complexes "A" and "B." As noted by Isbell (2001a:27-8; Isbell 2002:14; Isbell & Cook 292:5), one of these households was centered

on patio EA-131 (see Figure 39). Minimally, this household consisted of EA-90, Mortuary Complex "A," EA-132, and EA-134. As discussed above, EA-90 was probably used for storage and/or sleeping and EA-132 was used as a domestic/workshop space. EA-134 was probably a passageway that allowed access into the EA-131 residence. Excluding EA-134, the EA-131 residential complex covered about 96 m².

Figure 39: Households associated with the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace in Zone 5



4.4.2.2. Household associated with Mortuary Complex "B"

The present study identified a household associated with Mortuary Complex "B" (see Figure 39 above). Minimally, this household consisted of EA-140, Mortuary Complex "B," and EA-108A. Though no patio has been found associated with the Mortuary Complex "B" household, the space to the south of EA-140 would be a likely candidate.

Like EA-132, EA-140 was probably used as a workshop or room where daily domestic activities took place. Entry into Mortuary Complex "B" was through EA-141. However, EA-141 may have also served a domestic function because there was a possible hearth in the northwest corner of the room. In this case, EA-141 like EA-90 was probably used for storage and/or sleeping, though the presence of a hearth suggests daily domestic activities may have also been part of this room's use. The function of EA-108A is unknown.

If a household was associated with Mortuary Complex "B" and its patio was located in the unexcavated space south of EA-140, then the household associated with Mortuary Complex "B" was about 84 m².

4.4.2.3. Household associated with EA-77

Isbell (2001a:27-8; 2002:14; Isbell & Cook 292-5) posits another household centered on patio EA-77 (see Figure 39 above). This household was composed of several rooms including EA-60, EA-63, EA-64, EA-93, EA-89A, EA-89B, EA-89C, EA-91, and EA-105.

A hearth was found in EA-63 suggesting this space was used for food preparation. The three rooms of EA-89 may have been used for storage and/or sleeping due to the fact that they are far removed from patio EA-77. EA-91 was probably used for storage due to the lack of artifacts found in this room (Isbell 2002b:79); to date, the only doorway into EA-91 was through

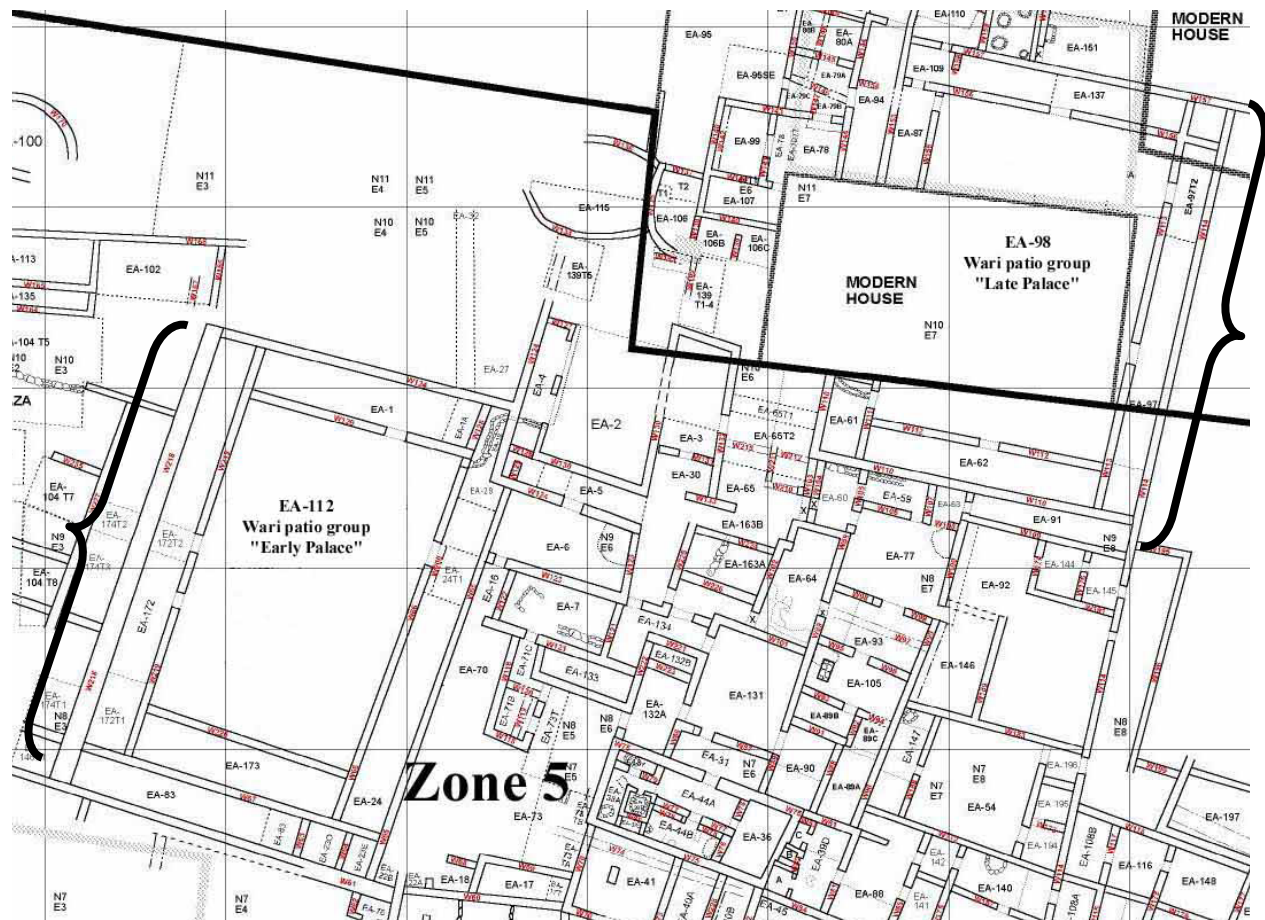
EA-63. The function of EA-93 is unknown, but it may have served a domestic function due to the bench along its west wall which may have been used as a sleeping platform or work table. Both EA-59 and EA-60 had a canal running beneath their floors along their north walls; both spaces opened onto patio EA-77 and were probably associated with domestic/workshop activity. EA-105 and EA-64 both had burials beneath their floors and benches above these burials. At some point, the two doorways in EA-64 were blocked off. EA-64 was probably a small patio reserved for special activity including mortuary rituals. EA-105 was a mortuary room. Including all of the above rooms, the EA-77 household unit covered about 101 m².

The EA-77 household did not have a clearly defined mortuary complex but it had at least two rooms, EA-64 and EA-105, where mortuary activity was prominent. Though not included as part of the EA-77 household, EA-147 was accessible through EA-105. If EA-147 was part of the EA-77 household, this would be significant considering EA-147 had a large bench containing at least six infant/child burials.

4.4.3. Wari patio groups (“palaces”)

Conchopata has Wari architectural patterns in the form of Wari patio groups (see Figure 40). Elites lived in Wari patio groups and carried out domestic activity and conducted administrative affairs in the large interior patio space (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Cook & Glowacki 2003:186; Isbell 1989; Isbell et al. 1991:45; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179; McEwan 1991, 1998:69; Nash 2003:41). Isbell (2001a:25-7, 2001b, 2002, 2004, 2006; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) argues that these two Wari patio groups were palaces. This interpretation is plausible considering they are four times larger than next largest identified household (see Table 6 above). To date, neither of these structures has been adequately analyzed.

Figure 40: Zone 5 of Sector B showing Wari patio groups/palaces



4.5. Summary of Conchopata Households

A multidimensional scaling analysis of rooms (see Chapter 7) identified two main types of rooms, those used as domestic/workshop spaces and those in which mortuary activity was prominent. Based on an in-depth description of rooms and their location at the site, several households were identified. Several lines of evidence based on household size and associated activities suggest some differences in household status and wealth.

Conchopata households fell into three general size categories. Wari patio groups were at least four times larger than any other household which clearly indicates that these structures were important focal points at the site. Isbell (2001a:25-7, 2001b, 2002, 2004, 2006; Isbell & Cook

2000, 2002) interprets Conchopata's two Wari patio groups as palaces that were inhabited by Conchopata rulers. Further, according to Isbell (2006:63-71), the EA-98 Wari patio group was part of a palace complex that included the households located in Zone 5 (associated with EA-77, Mortuary Complex "A," and Mortuary Complex "B") where the extended family of Conchopata's ruler lived.

The interpretation of the three households in Zone 5 as the extended family of Conchopata's ruling elite is plausible. These households are the largest, an analysis of zones (see Chapter 6) identified Zone 5 as a high-status residential area, and households in this zone participated in an array of domestic ceremonies and rituals including mortuary activity, ancestor veneration, small-scale feasting, and dedicatory offerings. Each of the three households in Zone 5 had several rooms devoted to mortuary activity (see Chapter 3).

The zone analysis also identified Zone 4 as an area of high-status residence, and at least one household in Zone 4 (associated with the EA-148 patio) also had a room devoted to mortuary activity (EA-150). Zone 4 produced the same array of domestic ceremony and ritual as occurred in Zone 5.

High-status households reserved entire rooms for the burial of important family members venerated important ancestors within these rooms, and practiced a variety of ceremonies and rituals at the household level such as pot smashing, small-scale feasting, and making dedicatory offerings (see Chapter 7). In fact, although ancestors were venerated by both high- and low-status social segments (see Chapter 8), the higher-statuses placed a much greater investment in activities surrounding the dead. Each high-status household guarded their ancestors within the domestic domain, suggesting that ancestors and their well-being were very important to high-

status family members. This restricted access to ancestors may be evidence that ancestor veneration was a source of inter-elite competition.

The most powerful high-status families built entire mortuary complexes within their residences for their ancestors. Without the mortuary complexes, the total area of the household associated with Mortuary Complex “A” would be about 50 m² and that associated with Mortuary Complex “B” would be about 39 m². Thus, these two households associated were clearly placing considerable investment in activities surrounding the dead. Alternatively, households with mortuary complexes were more established than those without mortuary complexes and had resided at Conchopata for a longer period of time than other households. In this case, mortuary complexes probably grew in size through time as the number of ancestors grew throughout the developmental lifecycle of the household.

Finally, though data about small households at Conchopata are incomplete, the implication is that at least some of them were lower-status residences whose daily activities focused on craft production carried out in patios and attached workshop spaces. They may have been inhabited by junior members or retainers of higher-status households. Two of these households were located in Zone 1 and one in Zone 5. Small households are argued to be of lower-status based on the presence of relatively few artifacts, lack of rooms devoted specifically to mortuary activity, and lack of features other than those relating to daily domestic activity such as food preparation or craft production (see Chapter 7).

5. ROOM FEATURES AT CONCHOPATA

Various features in rooms at Conchopata provide abundant information about the different kinds of activities carried out in different parts of the site and among Conchopata households. Many of these features and activities also provide evidence of ancestor veneration as well as status and wealth differences.

5.1. Benches

Numerous rooms at Conchopata have raised platforms that are generically referred to as benches. Though benches were usually constructed against a wall, there are a few examples of freestanding benches, specifically in EA-105 and EA-39. The majority of benches are rectangular, though some semi-circular and circular benches have been uncovered. Benches range in length and width, and can be anywhere from a few centimeters to over 1 meter high.

Benches served multiple functions. Some have been interpreted as sleeping platforms or workspaces (Williams 2001:76; Nash 2003:102). Benches found in Wari patios groups at the Wari capital were often located along the walls of patios and probably used as seating and places where daily activities were carried out (Isbell et al. 1991:40). Benches also served as capstones for tombs, and some were the loci for ceremonial activity (e.g., in EA-148).

5.1.1. Benches with offering holes

Several rooms at Conchopata had benches with offering holes: EA-6, EA-105, EA-148, EA-153, and EA-178. With the exception of EA-148, in each of these cases the bench was located above a tomb. Offering holes were mainly, though not exclusively, associated with communication with the dead or as conduits through which offerings were made to the dead. All tombs that had bench/capstones were high-status tombs. The offering holes themselves were usually located on

top of the bench and were circular, about 10 cm in diameter. There are a few examples of square-shaped offering holes located in the side of a bench (in EA-105 and EA-178).

EA-6 was a small patio. In the northeast corner of the patio was a large, roughly square-shaped bench with rounded corners. It measured 1.4 meters wide, 1.6 meters long, and about 5 cm high. On top of the bench was a small, square-shaped, raised platform with an offering hole in it. This raised offering hole had traces of red pigment on its surface. Because this bench was broken by a combination of wall fall and looting activity, it is unclear if the offering hole allowed direct access to the bedrock tomb below.

EA-105 was a mortuary room with a freestanding bench located next to the west wall. This bench measured 65 cm wide, 1.2 meters long, and 25 cm high. Traces of red pigment suggest the bench was originally painted red. Beneath this bench was an intact bedrock tomb. This bench was unusual in that it had three offering holes. Unlike offering holes in other benches, these offering holes did not extend into the tomb below it. The south side of the bench was probably constructed first, after the placement of the first body or bodies in the tomb. The south side of the bench had two offering holes, one on the top and one on the side. Inside the circular offering hole on top of the bench were several pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone. The other offering hole was square in shape and did not contain any artifacts. After the last bodies were placed in the tomb, the bench was extended to cover the tomb opening and another small, square-shaped offering hole was constructed in the side of the bench. This offering hole did not contain any artifacts. With the extension of the bench, the entire bench was resurfaced and the circular offering hole on top of the bench with its contents of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone was sealed over.

EA-153 was a mortuary room. This room had several benches, at least one of which had an offering hole. The entire southern one-third of the room was a bench about 4 cm high. Along the south wall of this bench were at least two other benches that served as capstones to underlying tombs dug into bedrock. One of these benches, located along the middle of the south wall, had an offering hole on top of the bench.

EA-178 had a bench along its entire north wall that was about 40 cm high. Beneath this bench were two bedrock tombs, one located beneath the west side of the bench and the other beneath the east side. The offering hole in this bench was unlike the typical offering holes found in benches. Rather it was a small, square opening (13 cm x 13 cm) located in the side of the bench, slightly off-center (see Figure 41). It appears to have allowed direct access only to the west tomb.

Figure 41: Two views of the bench with offering hole in EA-178.



EA-148 was the only room that had a bench with an offering hole but no associated burial (see Figure 42). The bench was located along most of the east wall and measured 50 cm wide, 2.6 meters long, and 28 cm high. The southern one-third of the bench was 20 cm high. The offering hole was centrally located on the top of the bench. The offering hole extended about 16 cm down into a small rectangular space that measured 38 cm wide, 30 cm long and 36 cm high. Inside the offering hole were a nearly complete *Spondylus* shell and an intact potter's tool

(*paleta*, see Figure 43). Beneath the bench were two pieces of work greenstone and one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

Figure 42: Bench with offering hole in EA-148



Figure 43: *Spondylus* shell and potter's tool found in the bench in EA-148.



5.1.2. Benches with burials in them

In three rooms at Conchopata (EA-88, EA-147, and EA-154), burials were placed inside the bench. These types of burials are known as Wari Burial Type 9 (see Chapter 3). All bench burials were those of infants or children, and none of these benches had offering holes.

The bench in EA-88 was located along the entire south wall of the room. It measured 1.8 meters wide, 2.8 meters long, and about 20 cm high. This bench was constructed of the original

floor of the room. This bench contained 5 infant/child burials. The bench in EA-147 was located along the entire south wall of the room and also contained 5 infant/child burials. It measured 1.9 meters wide, 2.0 meters long, and about 10 cm high. Finally, the bench in EA-154 was located along the entire north wall and occupied half of the room. It measured 1.5 meters wide, 2.0 meters long, and about 30 cm high. This bench was constructed on top of the original floor of the room. Inside the bench were an intact burial of a single child and a camelid offering.

5.1.3. Benches with burials beneath them

Several rooms at Conchopata had benches that served as capstones for underlying burials; many of these benches were partially destroyed and may have had offering holes. These include EA-6, EA-9, EA-31, EA-39A, EA-39D, EA-64, EA-105, EA-138, EA-153, EA-178, and EA-179. EA-6, EA-105, EA-153, and EA-178 were described above, as they included benches with offering holes. As noted above, all burials that had bench-like capstones were high-status burials.

EA-9 was probably a patio. It had a rectangular bench located along its west wall in the northwest corner of the room. Beneath the bench was a bedrock tomb. This bench was unusual in that it projected slightly diagonally into the room from the west wall rather than perpendicular. It measured about 90 cm wide, 1 meter long, and about 10 cm high.

EA-31 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “A.” This room had a rectangular bench along its east wall that had traces of red pigment on its surface. Because this bench was badly destroyed, its dimensions are unknown. At least one bedrock tomb was located beneath the bench.

EA-39 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “B.” EA-39A was a small space enclosed by walls, located in the southwest corner of EA-39. The U-shaped bench in EA-39A extended from the west wall and measured 45 cm wide, 50 cm long, and about 5 cm high.

Beneath the bench was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb. The eastern half of EA-39 was designated EA-39D. The entire northern half of EA-39D was a bench that measured 2.0 meters wide, 2.8 meters long, and about 10 cm high. Beneath this bench were two rectangular burial chambers.

EA-64 was a small patio with a series of benches of different sizes, shapes, and levels located along the south wall and southern half of the west wall. Bedrock tombs were located beneath the partially destroyed benches along the south wall. The bench along the west wall had at least two levels. The overall dimensions of the west bench was about 1.25 meters wide, 2.5 meters long, and about 40 cm high.

EA-138 was a mortuary room with at least four bedrock and cist tombs located beneath the floor. This room was heavily looted and partially destroyed by modern construction activity. There were at least two benches in this room but their dimensions are unknown. One bench was located along the middle of the east wall, the other located along the west wall in the southwest corner of the room.

EA-179 was another mortuary room. This room was heavily disturbed. It had a bench along its west wall, though its dimensions are unknown. Fragments of red painted plaster were found in the area where this bench was located suggesting that the bench was painted red. Beneath this bench was a huge bedrock tomb.

5.1.4. Other Benches

Several other rooms had benches that may have been variously used, for example as sleeping platforms, seating, or work surfaces. These rooms included: EA-12, EA-39D, EA-40A, EA-90, EA-140, EA-141, EA-147, EA-181, and EA-182. A few benches were associated with offerings of luxury items, specifically in EA-88, EA-148, and EA-153. EA-148 was discussed above.

EA-12 was a domestic/workshop space. It had a semi-circular bench along its west wall; though its exact dimensions are unknown, it was approximately 1 meter wide, 1.5 meters long, and 10 cm high. This bench probably served as a work table.

EA-39D was the eastern half of the main burial chamber, EA-39, in Mortuary Complex “B.” EA-39D had a freestanding bench that was circular and mound-shaped with a flat top. Its diameter was about 70 cm at the base and rose to a height of about 30 cm. Beneath it was a pit carved into bedrock that did not contain any cultural remains.

EA-40A was probably a domestic/workshop space. A large, rectangular bench was located in the middle of the room. This bench measured 1.3 meters wide, 2.0 meters long, and about 16 cm high.

EA-88 was a room in Mortuary Complex “B.” The northern one-quarter of EA-88 was heavily looted. This part of the room was separated from the rest of the room by a small north-south wall that extended about 60 cm from the west wall. It is unclear whether this wall originally stretched entirely across the room closing off the northern one-fourth of the room. A bench extended across the northern wall of EA-88 and measured about 90 cm wide, 3.6 meters long, and 10 cm high. Many special items were found in this bench including a small decorated face-neck jar, copper macehead, and wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

EA-90 was a domestic space with a bench along its entire south wall. It measured 1.8 meters wide, 2.6 meters long, and about 5 cm high. This room contained very few artifacts or features suggesting that the bench may have been used as a sleeping platform.

EA-140 was a domestic/workshop space. It had two benches. One bench was located along the entire east wall and measured 1.55 meters wide, 2.25 meters long, and about 10 cm high. The other bench was located along the center of the north wall. It was circular in shape

with a diameter of about 1 meter by 80 cm. This bench was slightly concave. It may have been a work surface. Just to the west of this circular bench was a hearth.

EA-141 was a room in Mortuary Complex “B” that may have additionally served as a domestic living space. It had a bench along its entire south wall that measured 1.5 meters wide, 1.86 meters long, and about 15 cm high. There was also a hearth in the northwest corner of the room.

In addition to the bench along the south wall which was described above, EA-147 also had a partially destroyed bench along its north wall. This bench measured about 1.1 meters wide, 2.05 meters long, and about 20 cm high.

In addition to benches that functioned as capstones for underlying burials, EA-153 also had a bench that contained an offering of luxury items. This bench was located along the north wall and measured 34 cm wide, 60 cm long, and 10 cm high. It was filled with offerings of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone (see Section 5.7.2 below).

EA-181 was a domestic/workshop space. It had a bench that extended along its entire west wall measuring 1.4 meters wide, 2.51 meters long, and about 20 cm high. A hearth was located in the southeast corner of this room.

Finally, EA-182 was a probably a domestic space. It had a bench along its entire south wall that measured about 1 meter wide, 2.18 meters long, and 20 cm high.

5.2. Ceramic Smashes

One type of ceremonial activity found at Conchopata was the intentional smashing of ceramic vessels; some of these pot smashing events were associated with feasting activity. These ceramic smashes have been found in several different contexts in both open and enclosed spaces

at Conchopata such as in D-shaped structures, open patios, domestic rooms, and mortuary rooms (Cook 1987; Isbell 1987a; Isbell & Cook 2002; Milliken 2000; Ochatoma & Cabrera 2002).

Ceramic smashes consist of numerous vessels that were intentionally smashed and left on the floors of patios or rooms. Most known ceramic vessel types have been represented in ceramic smashes. However, most individual smashes consist of only a few vessel types such as jars, ollas, and/or urns. The only ceramic offering type investigated in this study was Oversized Ceramic Offering Type 4 (see below).

Four types of oversized vessel offerings have been uncovered at Conchopata (Isbell 2001a:36-44, 2002:37-45; Isbell & Cook 2000:10-12, 2002:259-273). Oversized Ceramic Offering (“OCO”) Type 1 consists of several oversized ceramic vessels that were smashed and then buried in pits. These offerings were made up of elaborately decorated and well-made face-neck jars or urns. One example, the 1977 offering, consisted of over 20 face-neck jars. Another, the Tello offering, consisted of several oversized urns.

OCO Type 2 consists of several oversized ceramic vessels that were smashed then left on the floor of an architectural enclosure. These offerings were made up of elaborately decorated or well-made face-neck jars and/or urns. One example was found in one of Conchopata’s D-shaped structures (Ochatoma & Cabrera 2001, 2002). Another was found in patio EA-2.

OCO Type 3 consists of one or two large, elaborately decorated and/or well-made urns that were smashed then left on the floor within an architectural space or patio. An example, a single undecorated urn, was found in the central patio of the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace.

Finally, OCO Type 4 consists of several oversized jars smashed on the floor of a room within a residential setting. In addition to oversized jars, these offerings consisted of numerous vessel types of varying sizes. OCO Type 4 offerings were a hodgepodge of vessel types that

could include storage jars, face-neck jars, open and closed bowls, and ollas. These vessels were usually of lower quality, in both decoration and technique/materials, than the oversized vessels found in OCO Types 1, 2, and 3. Many of the vessels in OCO Type 4 offerings were undecorated. OCO Type 4 offerings have been found in several rooms at Conchopata that were analyzed in the present study including EA-31, EA-36, EA-64, EA-88, and EA-148.

Based on design elements, OCO Types 1 and 2 both date to the earlier occupation of Conchopata and OCO Type 4 dates to later periods. OCO Types 1 and 2 were found in large open patios suggesting that early pot smashing ceremonies and associated feasting were community events. However, OCO Type 4 offerings were located in smaller rooms and patios within the domestic realm. Thus, through time there was a shift in the oversized ceramic offering sequence from a general expression in which ceremonies were large-scale, public occasions to a more individualizing expression in which ceremonies were performed by and for a select group of people within an exclusive setting, specifically within the domestic realm (Milliken 2000). Significantly, OCO Type 4 offerings investigated in the present study were associated with mortuary activity.

Of the five clearly documented examples of pot smashing ceremonies in this dataset, four were specifically located in mortuary rooms or mortuary complexes. At least one example of the pot smashing ceremony was found in each of the households identified in Zones 4 and 5.

5.2.1. Ceramic smash in EA-31

EA-31, one of the rooms in Mortuary Complex “A,” had a large, scattered ceramic smash. This ceramic smash included numerous artifacts, some of which were probably grave goods from looted burials. There were several concentrations of ceramics throughout the room that made up

this ceramic smash. Several ceramic vessels were 50%-100% intact. In addition, large rocks were left in place after being used to smash some of the jars.

Of the reconstructed pots, most were in the Huamanga style. These included one oversized face-neck jar, one medium-sized face-neck jar, one olla with a spout, and one open bowl. Several of the vessels were in the Wari blackware style including one closed bowl, three open bowls, and one small face-neck jar. Other notable artifacts, which may have come from looted burials that were found beneath the floor and may not have been part of the ceramic smash, included *tupus*, two pieces of worked crystal, a whistle, and potter's tools.

5.2.2. Ceramic smash in EA-36

EA-36 was another room in Mortuary Complex "A." EA-36 had a ceramic smash on the floor that was located in front of the doorway into the room. There were several large rocks scattered throughout the smash suggesting the pots were intentionally smashed then left in place. At least one of the jars was completely reconstructed and several others were reconstructable.

Most of the pots were in the Huamanga style and included at least two oversized face-neck jars and two oversized wide-mouthed jars. Other notable artifacts found with this ceramic smash included two pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, a small animal figurine, grinding stones, and potter's tools (4 potter's wheels, 7 *alisadores*, and one mold). A carbon sample embedded in the floor of EA-36 below the offering yielded a calibrated 1 sigma radiocarbon date of A.D. 685-870 (Isbell & Cook 2001:46).

5.2.3. Ceramic smash in EA-64

EA-64 was a small patio where special activities such as mortuary rituals took place. It had a ceramic smash located at the northern end of the room. There were several large rocks scattered throughout the ceramic smash. Many potter's tools (*alisadores* and *paletas*) were associated

with this ceramic smash. This ceramic smash was composed of oversized jars, at least one of which was a face-neck jar. Several jar fragments were sooted on the surface.

5.2.4. Ceramic smash in EA-88

EA-88 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “B.” This room had a concentration of ceramics along the west wall. This concentration of ceramics was most likely an intentional ceramic smash based on the fact that it was located above a large pit filled with animal bones suggestive of feasting activity and it was associated with high-status and luxury items. Conjoining fragments were found in several different loci suggesting that some vessels or luxury items were intentionally broken and their pieces scattered throughout the room as it was being ceremonially closed. Alternatively, these artifacts were scattered around post-abandonment, for example, by looters or resettlement activities.

The pots associated with this ceramic smash included one oversized undecorated jar; one oversized plainware jar; one medium-sized, decorated, face-neck jar; one elaborately decorated, straight-sided bowl (a fragment of which was found in the animal bone concentration); one decorated, open bowl in the Huamanga style; and one decorated *kero*. Other artifacts associated with this ceramic smash were four pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, one piece of worked greenstone, potter’s tools, one piece of worked animal horn, and one obsidian scraper.

5.2.5. Ceramic smash in EA-148

EA-148 was a small patio. It had an intact ceramic smash located in the middle of the floor. This ceramic smash and accompanying ceremonial activity was probably associated with the intentional closing of the room. Of the ceramic smashes analyzed as part of the present research, the one in EA-148 is best documented.

At the time EA-148 was constructed, several offerings were placed in pits dug out of bedrock before construction of the floor. These included *cuy* offerings, a sacrificed juvenile llama, and a ceramic offering of a single olla. After these offerings were made, the floor and bench were constructed.

Prior to the abandonment of the room, a ceremony took place that involved feasting, placement of a large multi-vessel ceramic offering in a pit in the floor, and the smashing of numerous pots on the floor. A shallow pit was dug along the north wall into which was dumped numerous animal bones left over from the feasting event. Just south of the refuse pit, a deep pit was dug into bedrock. In this pit, an assemblage of intact serving vessels was carefully placed. This assemblage consisted of 25 vessels including cups, bowls, and small face-neck jars. Of these 25 vessels, 14 were in the state-associated, high-status Wari blackware style.

At some point after this ceramic offering was placed in the sub-floor pit, a large ceramic smashing event took place on the floor of EA-148. This smash consisted of numerous vessel types and artifacts including one tripod vessel; one decorated, oversized face-neck jar; six oversized jars; two decorated, medium-sized face-neck jars; one medium-sized jar; two ollas; two closed bowls in the Wari blackware style; one decorated *incensario* in the shape of a feline; potter's tools (one *alisador*, two potter's wheels, and one mold); five worked animal rib bones; one animal figurine; and one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Other artifacts found that were intentionally placed on the floor beneath the ceramic smash included one piece of worked, circular-shaped obsidian, four worked animal bones, one mini-jar, fragments of a *kero*, one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* which was embedded in the floor, and one piece of worked animal antler.

5.3. Concentrations of Animal Bones

5.3.1. Food remains

At Conchopata, several rooms had pits filled with animal bones, some obviously animal offerings. However, others were filled with disarticulated animal bones and were probably refuse deposits. Rooms that had refuse pits filled with animal bones included EA-132, EA-142, EA-189, and EA-191.

EA-132 was a domestic/workshop space. In the southeast corner of the room was a shallow pit dug into bedrock that contained disarticulated animal remains, probably camelid. EA-142 was a small room in Mortuary Complex “B.” Large intrusions along the north and east walls were filled with mainly disarticulated animal bones. EA-189 was a domestic/workshop space. Sometime after the first floor was constructed in this room, a deep pit was dug through the floor into bedrock along the north wall. This pit was filled with disarticulated animal bones, some of which were burnt. At some point after this pit was filled, another floor was constructed in the room. Through this second floor, in the northeast corner of the room, another pit was dug into bedrock that was filled with animal bones. This pit expands beneath the east wall and into the adjacent room, EA-191. On the EA-189 side of the pit, a potter’s mold and an obsidian scraper were found with the animal bones. On the EA-191 side, a nearly intact potter’s mold was left at the mouth of the pit.

5.3.2. Feasting activity

Cook & Glowacki (2003) argue that state-sponsored feasting events that involved large numbers of people took place in the patios of Wari patio groups. These feasting events can be identified by a ceramic assemblage consisting of over 60% serving vessels such as bowls and cups. At Conchopata, state-sponsored feasting occurred in the EA-112 Wari patio group/palace based on a ceramic assemblage of 65% serving vessels (bowl, cups, and oversized bowls). However, small-

scale feasting events also took place at Conchopata in small rooms and patios that involved fewer numbers of people.

Three rooms at Conchopata (EA-36, EA-88, and EA-148) produced evidence of small-scale feasting events that were among the activities associated with room abandonment and/or mortuary activity. Small-scale feasting is argued to have occurred based on the presence of ceramic smashes left on floors and large pits filled with animal bones. All three rooms were associated with mortuary rooms, and the ceremonial smashing of ceramics and accompanying feasting activity may have been tied to ancestor veneration and/or the ceremonial closing of the room. Unlike large-scale feasting events that occurred in Wari patio groups and are identified by a ceramic assemblage consisting mainly of serving vessels, small-scale feasting events in domestic rooms and patios at Conchopata are identified by remains of feasting (pits filled with animal bones) and associated pot smashing ceremony. These pot smashes consist of several oversized jars and a few single-serving sized bowls; they also include potter's tools and a few pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, and could include other types of artifacts such as obsidian or worked greenstone. Wedge-shaped *Spondylus* is specifically associated with the propitiation of the ancestors.

EA-36 was a room located in Mortuary Complex "A." Although there were no burials in EA-36, the intentional smashing of ceramic vessels was one of the last activities carried out in this room. Just north of this ceramic smash were two pits along the north wall that were filled with disarticulated animal bones, some burnt. The vessel assemblage of the ceramic smash included four oversized jars, at least two of which were decorated face-neck jars; the entire inventory of the ceramic vessels could not be completed.

EA-88 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “B.” Along the west wall of this room was a large pit filled with animal bones dug into bedrock. Some of these bones were burnt and carbon was scattered throughout. On the floor above this pit was an intentional ceramic smash. Found within this pit of animal bones was an open bowl in the Wari Negro style. The vessel assemblage associated with the ceramic smash included two oversized jars; one medium-sized, face-neck jar; one fancy, decorated, straight-sided bowl; one decorated open bowl, and one decorated *kero*.

EA-148 was a small patio that had several intact sub-floor offerings and an intact smashed offering. A shallow pit was dug along the north wall into which was discarded animal bones. South of this refuse pit a deep pit was dug into bedrock into which an offering of 24 intact serving vessels (plus one tripod vessel) was placed. After the feasting event and below-floor ceramic offering were made, a large smashed ceramic offering was left on the floor of EA-148. The vessel assemblage associated with the smashed offering included one tripod vessel; seven oversized jars (one was a face-neck jar); three medium-sized jars (two were face-neck jars); two ollas; two closed bowls in the Wari blackware style; and one decorated *incensario*. Considering that the smashed offering consisted of seven oversized- and three medium-sized jars, which presumably could have been filled with *chicha*, it is possible that the 24 serving vessels from the below-floor offering context were originally used by participants in the feasting ceremony.

5.4. Hearths

A Conchopata, a few examples of hearths were found that consisted of a circle of stones or patches of fire hardened floor, both associated with ash and burnt animal bones. But, other than the few obvious examples, the identification of hearths was problematic. Every room had ash

deposits throughout the different strata, from the ground surface to the floor. Many floors exhibited small areas of burning activity with associated ash. However, a common pattern found in several rooms was an ash concentration and evidence of burning on the floor next to a doorway, with a doorway sometimes opening onto a small patio. This pattern is common to hearth features found at Cerro Mejia (Nash 2003:97) and Pikillacta (McEwan 1987:53, 107).

Possible hearths were located in EA-9, EA-141, EA-149, and EA-181. Hearths in these rooms were located next to a doorway or in a corner and were represented by an ashy area of burning activity containing bits of carbon and sometimes pieces of burnt animal bone. The best examples of hearths investigated in the present research were found in EA-140, EA-180, EA-182, and EA-194 which are discussed below.

EA-140 was a domestic/workshop space. A hearth was found in the northwest corner of the room. It was set off from the rest of the room by two large rocks. The hearth consisted of dark ash with burnt bones. There were black stains on the surrounding walls. About 30 cm to the east of the hearth was a circular bench that probably served as a work surface.

EA-180 served a domestic function. A hearth was found in the southwest corner of the room, next to the door. The hearth was set off from the rest of the room by several large rocks. It contained a large quantity of ash, carbon fragments, and burnt animal bones.

EA-182 was probably a domestic space. A hearth was located in the southeast corner of the room. This hearth was deep and contained pure ash that was piled up in the corner. Beneath this hearth was a pit filled with animal bones. These bones were not burnt and may represent a refuse dump above which a hearth was eventually placed. Another hearth was located near the west wall, next to the doorway. This hearth was represented by a burnt area on the floor and accompanying dark soil.

EA-194 served a domestic function. It had a hearth located in the southwest corner of the room next to the door. This hearth was represented by an area of burnt floor, ash, and dark soil.

5.5. Pits

Every room at Conchopata had intrusions in the floors, usually located in the corners of the rooms or along the walls. Some intrusions were probably intentional pits dug into the floor into which conical based jars were placed, allowing them to stand upright (Cook 2001:147; Cook & Glowacki 2003:180). Others may have resulted from inhabitants removing items placed in below-floor pits prior to abandoning the room. Most excavated intrusions contained miscellaneous cultural remains, mainly ceramic sherds, a few animal bones, and/or lithics. In three rooms, intact below-floor pits were found in sealed contexts. The lack of cultural remains found in these pits suggests they may have contained perishable items; perhaps dedicatory offerings of food and/or drink were placed in the pits before construction of the floor.

In her excavations at Cerro Mejia, Nash (2003:96-7) used ethnographic analogy to explain the presence of ash in pits below the floor. One of the local excavators on her excavation team related that his mother lived in a house that had a dirt floor. His mother would clean out the hearth by digging a hole in the floor, sweeping the ash contents of the hearth and other refuse on the floor into the hole, then covering it over. Thus, some pits and intrusions at Conchopata that are filled with miscellaneous cultural remains may represent refuse swept into pits.

A few domestic/workshop spaces at Conchopata (EA-181, EA-191, and EA-194) contained intact pits in sealed contexts. For example, after the first floor was constructed in EA-181, several pits were dug through the floor and into the underlying bedrock. Afterwards, these pits were sealed over with the construction of a second floor. Several of these pits were found intact, one containing a *cuy* offering and one a possible potter's tool offering. A third intact pit

was filled with random cultural remains, most of it ceramic sherds and potter's tools (*alisadores*, potter's wheel fragment) suggesting it was a refuse pit.

Before the first floor was constructed in EA-191, a circular pit was dug into bedrock in the center of the western half of the room over which the floor was built. However, this pit contained no cultural remains though perhaps offerings of food and/or drink were placed in this pit. Soil samples were taken but have not been analyzed.

Beneath the floor of EA-194 was a pit located near the doorway that leads into EA-195. This pit was intact and located in a sealed context. It was a perfect circle, 25 cm in diameter and 24 cm deep, and was filled with a very unusual cream-colored soil. The only artifact found was a single, undecorated Huamanga sherd. Soil samples were taken but have not been analyzed. Perhaps this intrusion was originally a post hole.

5.6. Offering Holes

At Conchopata, there were several types of offering holes. Offering holes were found in benches, in capstones to tombs, in offering houses, and in floors. Those found in benches were discussed above. Some tombs had stone capstones with offering holes in them that allowed access to the tomb below. Examples of stone capstones with offering holes were found in EA-38B, EA-39C, and possibly EA-44B, all of which were rooms that were part of a mortuary complex.

EA-38B was an offering house in Mortuary Complex "A." The floor of this offering house was a stone capstone that had a half-circular notch in the east side of the capstone. Beneath this capstone was a stone-lined, circular cist tomb. Along the east wall of the cist was a groove that corresponded to the notch in the capstone above.

EA-44B was a room that was also part of Mortuary Complex “A.” EA-44B was almost completely looted and destroyed. At the west end of this small room was a subfloor, circular, stone-lined cist tomb. This tomb had a groove along its north wall that extended from the top of the tomb to the floor. Remnants of a wall along the north and east sides of this tomb suggest that an offering house once sat above the tomb. It is likely that the west tomb in EA-44B had a capstone with a notch carved along its north side that corresponded to the groove running down the length of the tomb.

In Mortuary Complex “B,” EA-39C was a small offering house that sat above a stone-lined, trapezoidal-shaped tomb. The floor of this offering house was a plastered surface. In the floor next to the eastern wall of the offering house was a slightly raised surface in the center of which was an offering hole that was 9 cm in diameter. Just beneath the plastered floor was a stone capstone that had a niche carved in its eastern side that corresponded with the offering hole above it. This offering hole allowed direct access to the tomb below.

At Conchopata, there are two examples of an offering hole found in the floor of a room. EA-31 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “A.” Beneath the floor on the east side of the room were at least two burials. Along the north wall in the east side of the room was a slightly raised area in the floor with an offering hole. It is unclear if this offering hole provided direct access to the tomb beneath it.

EA-187 was a room that may have served a ceremonial function. Before the first floor was constructed in this room, a small pit was dug into bedrock in the middle of the room. In this pit was a camelid offering. The floor was then constructed with an offering hole in the floor above the camelid offering. This offering hole allowed direct access to the camelid burial below.

5.7. Offerings

At the Moraduchayuq compound at the Wari capital, numerous offerings were found beneath floors in rooms and patios. Examples of such offerings include small holes and pits that contained caches of worked *Spondylus*, greenstone, miniature vessels, and/or copper objects (Isbell et al 1991:41-2). These types of offerings as well as animal offerings were found at Conchopata.

5.7.1. Animal offerings

Llamas have been sacrificed as offerings throughout Andean prehistory. For example, sacrificed llamas have been found at Tiwanaku, Chan Chan, and at Inka and Moche sites. In the Andean highlands, llamas are still sacrificed today as part of various ceremonies. In some places, llama fetuses were buried at corners of prehispanic houses (Benson 2001:2).

At Conchopata, llama offerings were commonly found beneath floors; none were found in human burials. EA-72, one of the D-shaped structures at Conchopata, had human trophy heads on its floor and camelid offerings beneath the floor (Ochatoma & Cabrera 2002:235, 237). A D-shaped structure at Ñawimpukio, a Wari site located on a hill near Conchopata, contained human burials and camelid offerings beneath its floor (Cook 2001:147).

Another common animal offering was guinea pig (*cuy*), also still sacrificed today (Benson 2001:11; Sandweiss & Wing 1997:47). In the Andes, *cuyes* are eaten as food, used to cure medical ailments, and used in religious ceremonies and rituals (Morales 1995), and were used similarly in prehistoric times (Sandweiss & Wing 1997). Modern Andean households usually raise *cuyes* in their kitchens, allowing them to run around the floor (Morales 1995:8). Recently, a *cuy* hutch was found at the Wari site of Huaru near Cuzco (Glowacki 2002:273). *Cuy* remains are often found at Conchopata buried beneath floors, usually along walls.

At Conchopata, several rooms had camelid and *cuy* offerings beneath their floors. These rooms included EA-6, EA-40A, EA-44A, EA-64, EA-88, EA-148, EA-154, EA-180, EA-181, EA-187, and EA-191. *Cuy* offerings were likely common in most rooms but because the bones are small and fragile, they were probably often overlooked during excavations or moved by looting activity.

EA-6 was an open patio that had an intact camelid offering beneath the floor along the middle of the south wall. The entire animal was placed in a pit dug into bedrock lying on its stomach with its feet placed beneath it and its head facing east. This juvenile llama offering was associated with a *cuy* and several potter's tools, which included two molds of feline heads, two polishing stones, and one *alisador*.

EA-40A was probably a domestic space though it had a large bedrock tomb in its northeast corner. This room had a headless, juvenile camelid offering that was placed in a shallow pit dug into bedrock before the first floor was constructed. EA-40A had an early wall located parallel to the north wall at the north end of the room. This early wall was located beneath the floor of the final occupation of the room and the camelid offering was associated with the early wall and the first constructed floor.

EA-44A was a room in Mortuary Complex "A." This room had two intact, juvenile camelid offerings, both next to each other along the north wall in the west end of the room. These offerings were placed in pits dug into bedrock before construction of the first floor. This room also had a *cuy* beneath the first floor of the room next to the two camelid offerings.

EA-64 was probably a small patio where special activities were carried out, including mortuary rituals. Tombs were found beneath benches along the south wall. Along the east wall of this room, a large pit was dug into bedrock. Within this pit was placed several *cuy* and at least

two camelids. This multiple animal offering also included two potter's tools (one *alisador* and half of a mold) and two pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Just north of these benches along the west wall, a small pit was dug into bedrock. In this pit, *cuyes* were placed alongside 14 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

EA-88 was one of the rooms located in Mortuary Complex "B." Infants and children were buried in the bench along the south wall. Along the north wall beneath the north bench was a concentration of *cuy* bones with a *Spondylus* bead.

EA-148 was a small patio where special activities took place. Before the floor was constructed in this room, a pit was dug into bedrock in the northeast area of the room. In this pit an entire juvenile llama was placed as an offering with its head to the south. The llama was wrapped in a bundle and tied with rope. Additionally, three possible *cuy* offerings were placed in the floor, one located along the south wall, one along the north wall, and one in front of the bench. A fourth *cuy* was found along the east wall beneath the bench.

EA-154 was probably used for domestic purposes. Along the entire north wall was a bench that took up half of the room. In the northwest corner of the bench was a child burial. In the northeast corner of the bench was a camelid offering. This offering was placed in the bench subsequent to the construction of the bench and may represent one of the final activities that took place in the room prior to abandonment.

EA-180 was a domestic space. Before the first floor was constructed in this room, a small, circular pit was dug into bedrock in the southeast corner of the room. Within this pit was placed the remains of a juvenile camelid. Also in this room, along the center of the north wall, a small circular pit was dug into bedrock that contained a *cuy*.

EA-181 was probably a domestic/workshop space. This room was heavily looted. However, an intact *cuy* was found along the south wall in a small circular pit dug through the first floor of the room. A second floor constructed over the first floor sealed this *cuy* offering.

EA-187 was probably originally a space where special activities took place. Before the first floor was constructed, a juvenile camelid was placed in a pit dug into bedrock in the center of the room. The floor was constructed above this offering, and an offering hole was made in the floor that allowed direct access to the camelid burial below. With the construction of a second floor, another camelid offering was made in front of the doorway in a shallow pit along the south wall and the offering hole to the first camelid burial was sealed over. Later, the second floor was covered over by a dirt floor. After the construction of the dirt floor, a possible camelid offering was placed in the southwest corner of the room. The animal bones in this pit were scattered and disarticulated. Animal bones were also recovered from pits located in the northeast and southeast corners of the room and may have held camelid offerings; some of the camelid bones in the northeast corner had traces of cinnabar on them.

EA-191 was a domestic/workshop space. The room fill was entirely of ash suggesting it was intentionally closed off upon abandonment. There was a small pit in the floor along the south wall that contained a *cuy* offering.

5.7.2. Greenstone and *Spondylus*

Spondylus (thorny oyster shell) comes from the coast of Ecuador and its presence in the Andean highlands provides evidence for long-distance trade. *Spondylus* was also an important ritual offering (Glowacki & Malpass 2003:442) and it was used by ancient Andean peoples to petition the gods (Cordy-Collins 2001:35-36). *Spondylus* beads and ornaments made into jewelry were probably only worn by the elite (Cordy-Collins 2001:36). Among Andean peoples, *Spondylus*

was used in rituals to ensure rainfall, and shells in general were considered symbols of rain, fertility, and prosperity, and were given as offerings to spirits as nourishment (Anders 1987:255, 261).

Because *Spondylus* was an exotic item, it was a common grave offering in elite burials in ancient Peru (Benson 2001:10; Cordy-Collins 2001:36). And at Conchopata, *Spondylus* was only found in high-status tombs. Other than beads, the most common form of *Spondylus* was wedge-shaped (see Figure 44). However, it was also found in other types of offering contexts.

Figure 44: Examples of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* from EA-179/Burial #98



Like *Spondylus*, greenstone was often found in burials at Conchopata as well as in other offering contexts. Other than beads, greenstone was most commonly carved into small, flat geometric shapes such as ovals and triangles not more than 1 or 2 cm in size. Caches of greenstone always included *Spondylus*. Rooms that had offerings of greenstone and/or *Spondylus* included EA-36, EA-39C, EA-64, EA-88, EA-105, EA-148, EA-149, EA-153, and EA-182. Eight of the nine rooms that contained offerings of *Spondylus* and/or greenstone were found in Zones 4 and 5; EA-153 was located in Zone 2.

5.7.2.1. *Spondylus* offerings

In EA-36 and EA-88, rooms in Mortuary Complexes “A” and “B” respectively, one or two pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* were placed standing vertically in the wall next to the doorway.

EA-39C was an offering house in the main burial chamber of Mortuary Complex “B.” In the floor along the eastern wall of the offering house was an offering hole that allowed direct access to the tomb below. On the floor of this offering house, in the southwest corner, was a small concentration of about six pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and in the southeast corner was a small *mano* (see Figure 45).

Figure 45: Floor of offering house in EA-39 with *Spondylus* offering in lower right corner*

*photo courtesy of William H. Isbell



EA-64 was a small patio where special activities took place. Just north of the benches, along the west wall, a small pit was dug into bedrock. Within this pit were *cuy* remains and 14 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

EA-148 was a small patio where special activities occurred. It had a bench with an offering hole along the east wall. This is the only bench with an offering hole that did not have a

human burial beneath it. In the offering hole was a potter's tool (*paleta*) and a nearly complete *Spondylus* shell (see Figure 43 above). Additionally in EA-148, embedded in the floor beneath the ceramic smash was a piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

EA-153 was a room devoted to mortuary activity. There was an intrusive pit in the northeast corner of the room. Because this room was heavily looted, it is possible that something of value was removed from this pit since it held five pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and *cuy* remains. As discussed below, EA-153 also had a splendid offering of *Spondylus* and greenstone in a small bench located along the north wall.

5.7.2.2. *Spondylus* and greenstone offerings

EA-105 was a mortuary room. It had a freestanding bench along the west wall with a large bedrock tomb beneath it. Several pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and greenstone were placed in the offering hole located on top of the bench.

EA-149 was probably a domestic space. On or just above the floor of this room were three greenstone beads, one lapis lazuli bead, two pieces of carved greenstone, four *Spondylus* beads, one tiny marine shell, and one *tupu* stem. Greenstone and *Spondylus* objects were also found in three different pits in the floor. In one pit located in the southeast corner of the room were six greenstone beads, one piece of worked greenstone, one *Spondylus* bead, and three pieces of unworked *Spondylus*. In a second pit located in the center of the room were 10 greenstone beads, one *Spondylus* bead, and one seashell. In a third pit located along the north wall were one greenstone bead, two pieces of unworked *Spondylus*, and one piece of mother-of-pearl shell. Because luxury items such as *Spondylus*, greenstone, and lapis lazuli are almost exclusively found in burials and offering contexts, the placement of these items in EA-149 was

probably intentional and suggests ceremonial activity associated with the sealing of this room upon abandonment.

EA-153 was a room devoted to mortuary activity. Along the center of the north wall was a small bench that measured 34 cm wide, 60 cm long, and 10 cm high. This bench was filled with an intact offering of greenstone and *Spondylus* objects. The bench was built above a small, shallow circular pit dug into bedrock. Within this pit, the bottom stratum of the offering consisted of 22 greenstone objects and 10 *Spondylus* objects. This was covered over by a layer of soil and topped with an offering of seven greenstone objects and 13 *Spondylus* objects. The bench was constructed around these two layers of offerings.

In the bottom stratum of the EA-153 offering were five pairs of greenstone objects. These included two pairs of triangular-shaped objects, one pair carved into miniature axes, and two pairs carved into miniature seashells. Eight tiny pieces of greenstone were found together. There was also one pair of *Spondylus* beads placed next to each other. In addition, in the first stratum were four pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, three pieces of unworked *Spondylus*, one *Spondylus* bead, eight pieces of greenstone carved into geometric shapes, and 11 pieces of greenstone carved into various shapes.

In the top stratum of the EA-153 offering were several carved greenstone objects including a beautifully carved animal (llama or feline?), one fruit-like object, one spoon-shaped object, one teardrop-shaped object, one greenstone bead, and one geometric-shaped object. Also in this stratum were 11 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, two pieces of unworked *Spondylus*, and one piece of unworked greenstone. Within 50 cm of the bench, several additional objects were placed in the floor. These included one shell bead, 14 pieces of greenstone carved into geometric shapes, and one obsidian projectile point.

EA-182 was probably a domestic space. Numerous objects of greenstone and *Spondylus* were found throughout the room fill. Because these types of luxury items are almost exclusively found in burials and offering contexts, the scattering of luxury objects in EA-182 suggests intentional placement in this room. In the northern half of the room was a compact surface like a dirt floor. However, this surface was close to the present-day ground surface and was very bumpy and uneven. It was also steeply sloped, and sloped down towards the south of the room. Beneath this dirt floor-like surface was a huge concentration of large rocks. Within this dirt floor-like matrix were numerous greenstone and *Spondylus* objects including three greenstone beads, one piece of worked greenstone, one piece of unworked greenstone, one *Spondylus* bead, one piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, and one piece of unworked *Spondylus*. Other artifacts included one shell bead, one piece of worked crystal, one human figurine, four potter's tools (*alisadores*), and several fragments of a *kero*. Several fragments of this *kero* were found in EA-149, which connected to EA-182 via a doorway. In fact, the only way to access EA-149 was through EA-182. It appears that these two rooms were part of the same closing rituals based on the intentional placement of greenstone and *Spondylus* objects in these rooms.

In an intrusion located along the west wall of EA-182, just beneath the dirt floor-like surface in the northern half of the room, were six greenstone beads, one shell bead, and two pieces of unworked *Spondylus*.

5.7.3. Human sacrifice and dedicatory offerings

Human sacrifice has been documented at several Wari sites. At the Moraduchayuq compound at the Wari capital, the skull of a juvenile was found under a bench in an open patio. Because the skull was not accompanied by any other bones and it was wrapped in cloth secured with *tupus*, Isbell et al. (1991:42) interpreted it as an offering. Two adult female dedicatory burials were uncovered beneath the floor of two rooms at Qoripata, the administrative center of the Huaro complex located in the Cuzco region. Grave goods associated with these dedicatory burials included ceramic vessels, *tupus*, and weaving tools (Glowacki 2002:274-5). Other artifacts found in the vicinity of these burials included snuff spoons, snuff tubes, and bone and copper weaving implements. These objects suggest that these women were of relatively higher status (Glowacki 2002:282).

At Conchopata, 31 trophy heads were recovered from D-shaped structures (Tung 2003; Tung & Cook 2006). These trophy heads had probably been hung from rafters within D-shaped structures and used in ritual activities (Tung 2003:266). Of the 31 trophy heads recovered, 77% (N = 24) represented adults and 23% were children (N = 7). Of the 17 trophy heads that were sexed, 14 were males or probable males, and three were probable females (Tung 2003:246).

Wari Burial Type 7 represents sacrificial burial. At Conchopata, one example of Burial Type 7 was the burial of five adolescent and adult females in a pit dug into bedrock (Cook 1987:52; Isbell 1987a:99). These females were placed in the tomb wrapped in textiles in flexed positions. Grave goods associated with these individuals included *tupus*, hair pins made of bone, and a spindle whorl. Within one meter of this burial was a large offering of intentionally smashed ceramic face-neck jars.

At Conchopata, infants and children were found in several different burial contexts. Some were buried with adults in large tombs. Some were placed in *ollas* (EA-31 and EA-105) and included in high-status tombs. A third context of infant/child burials was in benches, also known as Wari Burial Type 9. Infant/child bench burials at Conchopata formed a very unique burial type. These burials may represent a specific burial type accorded to children of high-status families since both rooms that had multiple infant/child bench burials, EA-88 and EA-147, were part of two high-status households at Conchopata. Alternatively, these burials may have been dedicatory burials, perhaps associated with ancestor veneration, especially considering that EA-88 was the adjacent room to the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex “B.”

5.7.4. Miniature ceramic vessels

Miniature ceramic vessels come in several different types including jars, bowls, urns, ollas, and “teapots.” At Conchopata, miniature ceramic vessels were often found in burials, and in all cases except one (EA-147/Burial #49) tombs with mini-vessels included at least one adult. However, they were also found in other contexts such as in EA-191.

EA-191 was a domestic/workshop space. Because the room fill was entirely of ash, this room was probably intentionally closed off upon abandonment. Just below the south wall at floor level was a mini-jar. Since mini-jars are almost always associated with ceremonial activity or used as grave offerings, the mini-jar in EA-191 was probably placed below the south wall intentionally, perhaps upon abandonment of the room.

5.7.5. Potter’s tools

At Conchopata, several caches of potter’s tools were found. In fact, potter’s tools were included in many contexts such as in camelid offerings (i.e., EA-6 and EA-64) and ceramic smashes (i.e.,

EA-31, EA-36, EA-88, and EA-148). They were also found in burials. Other rooms that had potter tool caches include EA-9, EA-181, and EA-189.

EA-9 was an open patio. Along the middle of the north wall a pit was dug through the floor into bedrock. Within this pit, numerous potter's tools and other objects were found including 12 molds, two whistles, two potter's wheels, and an open bowl. In addition, this pit contained one land snail shell, one seashell, and one *tupu*.

EA-181 was a domestic/workshop space. After the first floor was constructed, several pits were dug through the floor into bedrock. Afterwards, another floor was constructed above the first floor, sealing the contents of these pits. Two of these pits were found intact and sealed over by the second floor. One pit held a *cuy*. The other, located in the middle of the eastern half of the room, was nearly a meter in diameter and contained one potter's tool (*paleta*), one small piece of worked *Spondylus*, and two *tupus*.

EA-189 was probably a workshop space. On the first floor encountered in this room, three potter's tools (*paletas*) were found along the center of the north wall, stacked on top of each other (see Figure 46). Each had a chevron design painted on one or both sides. Though it is possible these *paletas* were not offerings, other lines of evidence suggest they were placed intentionally. First, other potter's tools (two *tornos* and five molds) were also found nearby in the fill just above the floor or on the floor. In addition, a greenstone bead was found on the floor, and greenstone is almost exclusively found in tombs and special offering contexts. Finally, it appears that this room was intentionally filled upon abandonment with two different types of soil, a dark soil in the eastern half of the room and an ashy soil in the western half.

Figure 46: 3 potter's tools found in EA-189.



5.7.6. Pottery

In several rooms at Conchopata, pits were dug into bedrock beneath floors and offerings of ceramic vessels were placed in them. EA-148 is especially noteworthy for its intact sub-floor offering.

EA-148 was a small patio with a large, intact ceramic offering of 25 vessels. A large pit was dug through the floor into bedrock and the ceramic vessels were placed in the pit. These vessels consisted of three large, open bowls; a plainware tripod vessel; a deep open bowl with a spout; a large open bowl with a fancy design on the interior surface, possibly of a Wari fertility figure; a Wari blackware lyre cup; five small, Wari blackware face-neck jars; one closed bowl; three Wari blackware closed bowls; one decorated canteen; five Wari blackware open bowls with built-in straws; one Wari blackware open bowl; one undecorated open bowl; and one Huamanga style open bowl (see Figure 47). This ceramic offering was associated with feasting activity and the ceremonial smashing of pottery in the room.

Figure 47: Intact ceramic offering pit and ceramic vessels from the offering pit in EA-148.



One other pottery offering was placed beneath the floor in a small pit in EA-148. This offering was located in the southeast corner of the room and consisted of a single decorated olla.

The olla was intentionally smashed into more than 20 pieces and the fragments were placed into the pit in a small pile.

5.8. Summary: Ritual and ceremony at the household level

Elites at Wari sites have been identified based on the presence of luxury and exotic goods; high ratios of serving wares indicative of the sponsorship of large-scale feasting events; the presence of corporate architecture in the form of Wari patio groups which were centers of elite administration and residence; and differences in mortuary treatment (Brewster-Wray 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Cook & Glowacki 2003:182; Isbell 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002; Isbell et al. 1991:45; Isbell & Vranich 2004:179; Lau 2002:280; McEwan 1998:69; Nash 2003:41; Schreiber 1991). All of these characteristics have been identified at Conchopata (also see Chapters 3 and 4). In addition, high-status families at Conchopata practiced of a special form of ancestor veneration.

The private and public lives of Conchopata's high-status families were rich and varied. The above discussion of room features and activities indicates that numerous ceremonies and rituals were practiced at the household level. Because most of the area investigated in the present research was residential in nature, the focus will mainly be on private ritual practices at Conchopata.

In the Andes, feasting has played a significant role in the consolidation and maintenance of power (Bray 2003:131). For Wari administrators, feasting was an important component in the display of power and status. Much research at Conchopata has focused on public ceremony and ritual such as community-wide feasting, ceremonial pot smashing, and religious activities (Cook 1987, 2001; Cook & Benco 2001a, 2001b; Cook & Glowacki 2003; Isbell 1987a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002; Knobloch 2000; Milliken 2000; Ochatoma &

Cabrera 2002; Tung 2003; Tung & Cook 2006). However, at Conchopata, not only was feasting and pot-smashing associated with community-wide ceremony and ritual, but it was also an important activity among high-status families at the household level.

The present research identified Zone 1 as an area where community-wide feasting occurred that involved the presentation of *chicha* in fancy oversized urns (see Chapter 6). These feasting events may have been associated with religious activities carried out in nearby D-shaped structures. Zone 1 also produced evidence of another type of public ritual involving dedicatory offerings. Rituals associated with animal sacrifice are inferred in EA-187. The first use of this room involved periodic offerings made through an offering hole in the floor to an intact camelid offering. At least two other camelid offerings were placed in pits beneath the floor in this room, though neither had offering holes associated with them. Many of the contexts in this room were disturbed, but some camelid bones were recovered that had traces of cinnabar on their surface, a practice usually restricted to human skeletal remains. Sprinkling cinnabar on human remains is a mortuary practice documented among many ancient Andean societies (Quilter 1989:38; Benavides 1991:56; Burger 1992:126, 212; Isbell 1998:5; Buikstra 1995:236; Dillehay 1995a:5; Donnan 1995:123; Rivera 1995:54-55).

The above discussion of room features and contents at Conchopata provides evidence of numerous types of private rituals and ceremonies conducted at the household level by high-status families. These rituals and ceremonies included ancestor veneration, feasting, ceremonial pot smashing, and dedicatory offerings.

Though ancestor veneration was practiced by both high- and low-status social segments, the higher-status households invested greater time and effort into the veneration of their ancestors. The presence of ancestors within the domestic realm in rooms specifically set aside to

house important ancestors and other deceased family members suggests that ancestor veneration was a focus of daily domestic ritual. The most important ancestors were accessible through offering holes in tomb capstones.

Small-scale feasting activity followed by ceremonial pot smashing was found in rooms located in mortuary complexes or near mortuary rooms. This may suggest that the propitiation of the ancestors involved periodic feasting ceremonies; perhaps important family members of other high-status households also participated in these ceremonies. Having powerful ancestors was a source of power and status among Conchopata's high-status households, and feasting ceremonies within these households may have been status-enhancing events. Thus, the considerable investment high-status households placed in activities surrounding the dead indicate that ancestors were considered very important in the lives of Conchopata's high-status families.

As mentioned above, pot smashing was another important ceremony. The clearest examples of ceremonial pot smashing were found in high-status households and often were associated with mortuary activity. In fact, evidence of ceremonial pot smashing was found in each of the three large high-status households located in Zone 5. Specifically, two smashes were found in the household associated with Mortuary Complex "A," one associated with Mortuary Complex "B," and one associated with patio EA-77. In addition, Zone 4 was also an area of high-status residences (see Chapter 6) and a ceremonial pot smashing event was found in the household associated with patio EA-148.

Finally, a common type of domestic ritual involved dedicatory offerings. Dedicatory offerings included animals, *Spondylus* and greenstone, ceramic vessels, and potter's tools. These offerings were almost always placed beneath floors. A concentration of dedicatory offerings of luxury items such as *Spondylus* and greenstone were found in Zones 4 and 5; these zones were

clearly identified as residential areas (see Chapters 4 and 6) and the concentration of dedicatory offerings in these two zones supports the interpretation that they were areas of high-status residences.

Thus, the abundance of activities in Zones 4 and 5 that were associated with ancestor veneration, small-scale feasting, ceremonial pot smashing, and dedicatory offerings of luxury items supports the interpretation of the presence of high-status households in these zones. Additionally, only high-status households practiced a form of ancestor veneration involving continued communication through offering holes, and tombs of important ancestors were located in special mortuary rooms or complexes that were part of high-status households (see Chapter 4). Within these households, evidence of private ritual was abundant. Dedicatory offerings of pots, *Spondylus* and greenstone, and animals (guinea pig and camelid) were placed beneath residential floors. High-status households may have hosted small-scale feasting events within their residences that included attendance by others of the same social class. And, ceremonial pot smashing and feasting activity were carried out in mortuary rooms that were perhaps associated with the feting of ancestors.

6. ZONE ANALYSIS

Analysis of Sector B of the Conchopata archaeological site was conducted at two levels, with a zone being the first unit of analysis and the individual architectural space being the second unit of analysis. At the zonal level, the 40 architectural spaces were divided into five zones and the data were pooled in order to identify differences between different areas of the site. The goal was to determine if specific areas of the site differed in terms of status and/or wealth, activities, or function. At the second level, the architectural spaces were analyzed separately with the goal of establishing room function and identifying special activities (see Chapter 7).

An assumption of the zone analysis was that households of different social statuses lived in different parts of the site. By dividing Sector B into zones, these zones could be compared to determine whether there were differences in household status and wealth, or differences in types or degree of ceremonial or domestic activities that took place in these households. If certain zones were inhabited by higher-status households, then we would expect those zones to have larger rooms, higher proportions of serving vessels used in feasting activities, higher proportions of fancy pottery, greater access to luxury goods, or evidence of ritual activity such as animal sacrifices or caches of prestige items (Wilk & Rathje 1982; Smith 1987; Hendon 1991; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Hirth 1993; Stark & Hall 1993).

In addition, a zonal analysis can provide evidence that the site was divided into different functions with workshops, households, temples, and administrative areas located in different parts of the site. In this case, certain artifact types or ritual activity may be confined to specific zones.

6.1. Methodology

The architectural spaces analyzed were divided into five discrete zones (see Table 7) in order to identify different areas for specific site function and/or high-status households. The general assumption driving this analysis was that all zones were residential. Artifacts from rooms in each zone were pooled and the data analyzed to see if different types of activities were carried out in each zone or if there were differences in proportions of artifact types that might provide evidence for status and/or wealth differences between zones.

Table 7: Architectural spaces located within each zone

Zone	Architectural Spaces
1	EA-9, EA-12, EA-187
2	EA-153, EA-178, EA-179, EA-180
3	EA-109, EA-110, EA-138, EA-154
4	EA-148, EA-149, EA-150, EA-181, EA-182, EA-189, EA-191
5	EA-6, EA-31, EA-36, EA-37, EA-38, EA-39, EA-40A, EA-44A, EA-44B, EA-59, EA-64, EA-88, EA-90, EA-105, EA-132, EA-140, EA-141, EA-142, EA-147, EA-194, EA-195, EA-196

All zones were located in Sector B at Conchopata. Two assumptions were made in grouping these zones. First, rooms that were close to one another were assumed to have been used by people with similar status. And second, rooms that were close to one another were assumed to have been used by people carrying out similar activities, such as craft production or domestic tasks. In undertaking this analysis, several considerations were taken into account:

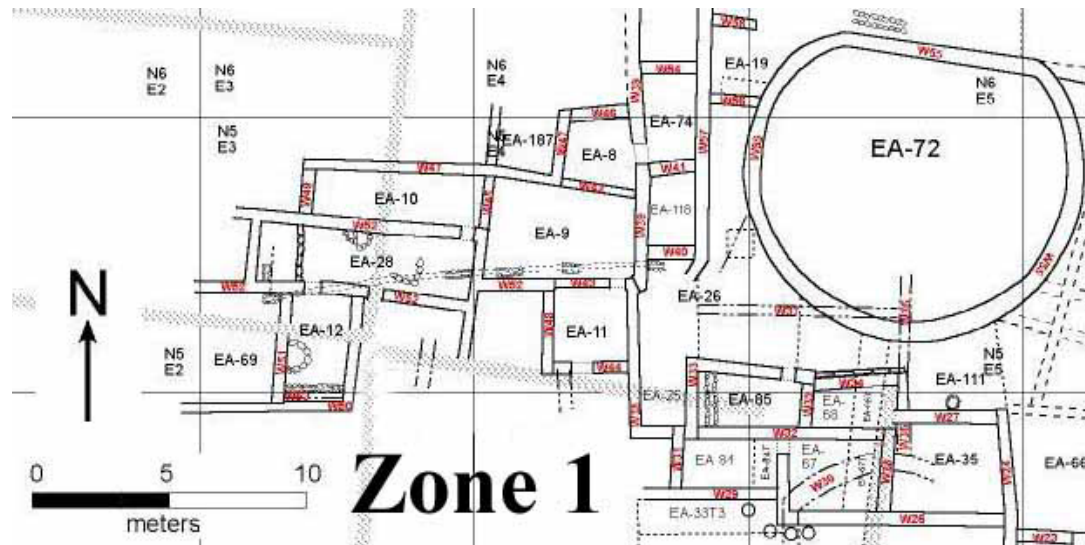
1. Analysis of fill content of each room assumed that people dumped their trash in abandoned rooms that were relatively close to their habitations.
2. Rooms were probably not inhabited or used simultaneously.
3. Room features represent those that were present during the final occupation of the room.
4. The site was occupied continuously from the Early Intermediate Period through the Middle Horizon, until about A.D. 1000, representing a span of over 500 years.

5. The architectural spaces used in this analysis are biased in favor of those containing human burials.
6. The rooms analyzed in Zones 2 and 3 were mainly associated with mortuary activity.
7. Of the rooms analyzed, 22 rooms were located in Zone 5. In comparison, seven rooms were analyzed in Zone 4, four rooms each in Zones 2 and 3, and three rooms in Zone 1.

6.2. The Zones

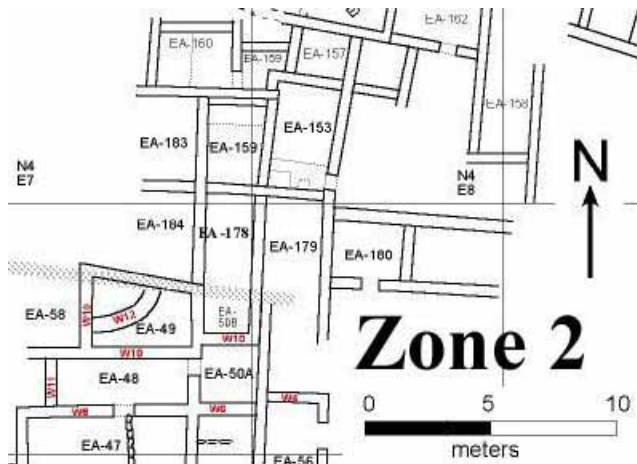
Zone 1 is located in the southwestern section of Sector B, just west of a large D-shaped structure (see Figure 48). There was a bedrock tomb in EA-9, and EA-187 had several camelid offerings beneath its floor.

Figure 48: Zone 1



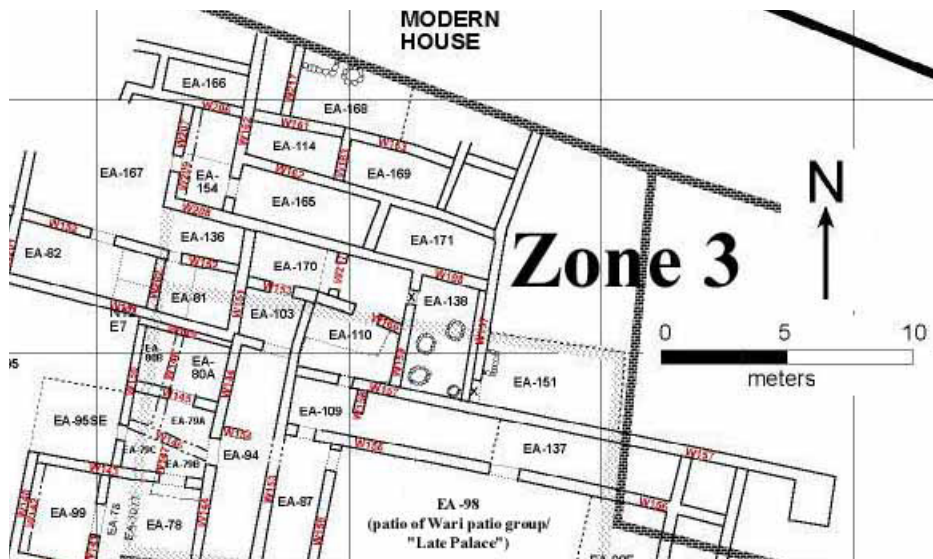
Zone 2 is located in the southeastern section of Sector B (see Figure 49). The rooms analyzed in this zone are biased in favor of rooms with tombs. EA-153, EA-178 and EA-179 contained human burials beneath benches. EA-153 and EA-179 were specifically associated with mortuary activity.

Figure 49: Zone 2



Zone 3 was located in the northern section of Sector B (see Figure 50). The rooms analyzed in this zone are biased in favor of rooms with tombs. EA-138 contained human burials beneath benches. Though EA-110 had been severely looted, it appears to have contained a large below-floor tomb. EA-110 and EA-138 were probably specifically associated with mortuary activity. EA-154 had a child bench burial.

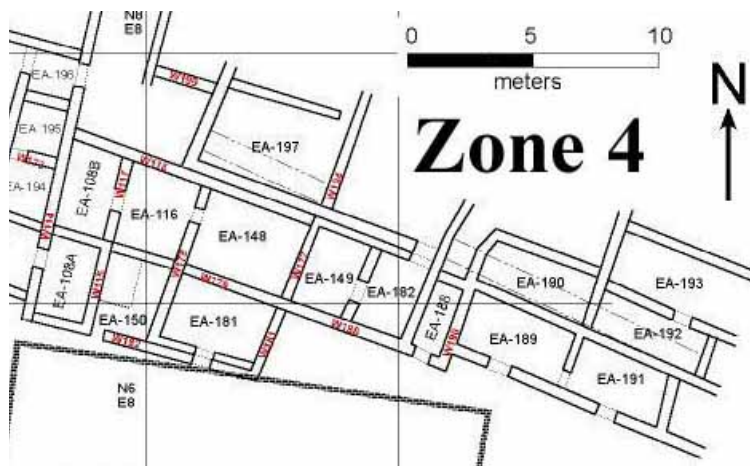
Figure 50: Zone 3



Zones 4 and 5 are adjacent to one another. Because there are rooms that allow access between these two zones, they were divided arbitrarily. If these two zones really make up a single zone, then analysis should show very few differences between them.

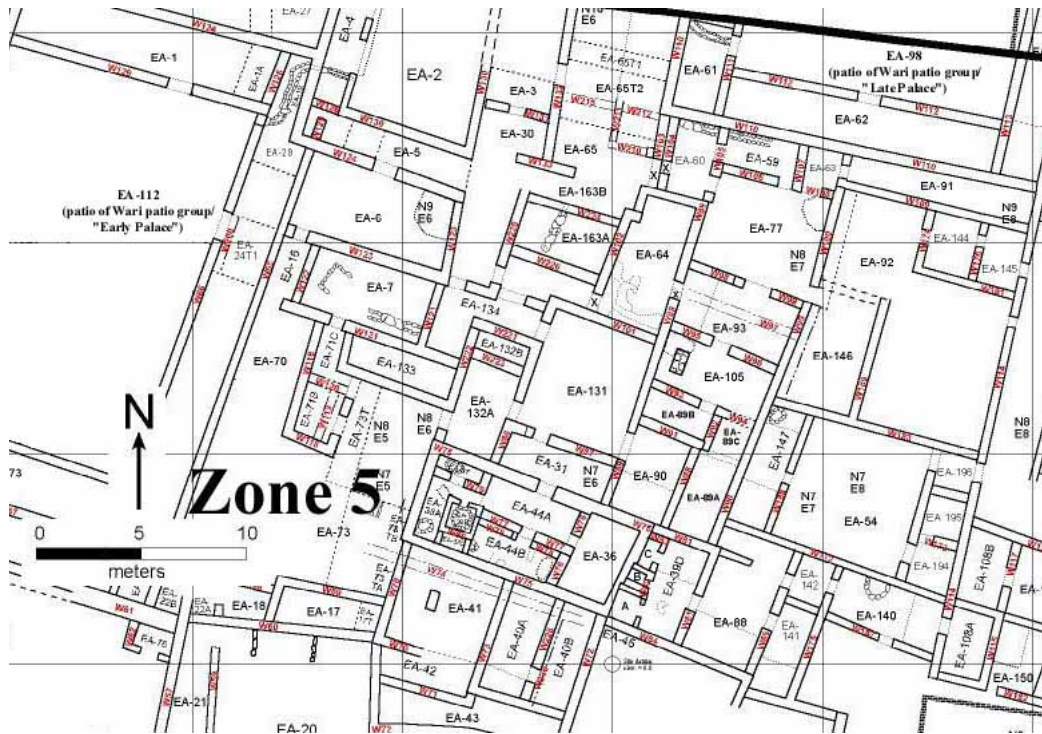
Zone 4 was located in the eastern section of Sector B (see Figure 51). In this zone, EA-150 contained a large offering house beneath which was a large tomb. EA-191 contained an intact human burial beneath the floor.

Figure 51: Zone 4



Zone 5 is located in the center of Sector B (see Figure 52). Two mortuary complexes are found in this zone. Over half of the rooms had human burials in them. Those that did not have burials in them included EA-36, EA-59, EA-90, EA-132, EA-140, EA-141, EA-142, EA-194, EA-195 and EA-196.

Figure 52: Zone 5



Most of the material found in the fill above the floors of many rooms probably had nothing to do with the activities that occurred in those particular rooms. Conchopata was continuously inhabited for several centuries, and people were probably constantly moving in and out of the site, with structures occupied, abandoned and reoccupied. Thus, most of the artifacts recovered from rooms probably represent trash dumped into abandoned rooms by people living nearby. In addition, because of the all the modern disturbance associated with looting, the building of the airport, and construction of houses on the site, these contexts were further disturbed in many cases.

Taking this into account, individual rooms were treated essentially as separate survey test pits. Despite modern construction activity, most of the walls of rooms at the site were intact, justifying the integrity of each room as a test pit.

6.3. Results of artifact analysis

6.3.1. Percentages of vessel types

Appendix D provides a description of Wari vessel types found at Conchopata. Cook and Glowacki (2003:182) identify feasting assemblages as consisting of ceramic vessels used for beverage preparation (ollas and wide-mouthed jars), food and drink consumption (single serving sized bowls, cups and *keros*), beverage service (decorated, oversized face-neck jars and urns), and food service (large bowls).

At Conchopata, mini-vessels and elaborately decorated oversized urns and face-neck jars were used in special ceremonies and rituals. If high-status households participated in more ceremonial or feasting activities, then some zones should have higher percentages of serving wares or ceremonial vessels.

Table 8 shows the number of observed and expected values of vessel types found in above-floor room fill in each zone. The difference between Zones 1 through 5 with respect to proportions of vessel types is highly significant (χ^2 (28, n = 5977) = 140, $p < .000$).

Table 8: Percentage of vessel types from above-floor fill per zone

Zone	Total # of closed bowl sherds	Total # of open bowl sherds	Total # of storage jars sherds*	Total # of olla sherds	Total # of vaso sherds	Total # of large open bowl sherds	Total # of urn sherds	Total # of mini-vessel sherds	Total
1	O = 45 (6.8%) E = 44.5	O = 283 (42.6%) E = 254.1	O = 263 (39.5%) E = 298.6	O = 28 (4.2%) E = 25.5	O = 7 (1.0%) E = 7.7	O = 16 (2.4%) E = 14.4	O = 16 (2.4%) E = 9.9	O = 7 (1.0%) E = 10.3	665
2	O = 32 (5.8%) E = 36.7	O = 226 (41.2%) E = 209.4	O = 245 (44.7%) E = 246.1	O = 20 (3.6%) E = 21.0	O = 4 (0.73%) E = 6.3	O = 10 (1.8%) E = 11.8	O = 2 (0.36%) E = 8.2	O = 9 (1.6%) E = 8.5	548
3	O = 43 (6.6%) E = 43.6	O = 243 (35.3%) E = 248.8	O = 267 (41.0%) E = 292.3	O = 26 (4.0%) E = 24.9	O = 5 (0.77%) E = 7.5	O = 15 (2.3%) E = 14.1	O = 12 (1.8%) E = 9.7	O = 40 (6.1%) E = 10.1	651

Zone	Total # of closed bowl sherds	Total # of open bowl sherds	Total # of storage jars sherds*	Total # of olla sherds	Total # of vaso sherds	Total # of large open bowl sherds	Total # of urn sherds	Total # of mini-vessel sherds	Total
4	O = 72 (7.1%) E = 67.6	O = 372 (36.5%) E = 386	O = 472 (46.4%) E = 453.5	O = 49 (4.8%) E = 38.7	O = 15 (1.5%) E = 11.7	O = 13 (1.3%) E = 21.8	O = 9 (0.88%) E = 15	O = 8 (0.78%) E = 15.7	1010
5	O = 208 (6.7%) E = 207.7	O = 1160 (37.5%) E = 1185.8	O = 1437 (46.4%) E = 1393.4	O = 106 (3.4%) E = 118.9	O = 38 (1.2%) E = 35.8	O = 75 (2.4%) E = 67.0	O = 50 (1.6%) E = 46.2	O = 29 (0.94%) E = 48.3	3103
Total	400	2284	2684	229	69	129	89	93	5977

*"storage jars" do not include small face-neck jars or mini-jars; "O" = Observed; "E" = Expected

Despite the extremely significant results, there is very little difference overall in percentages of specific vessel types across zones indicating that the strength of the differences is too small to be very meaningful. However, a discussion of general characteristics is undertaken in order to assess patterns between zones.

Zone 1 has the highest percentages of open bowls, large open bowls, and urns; Zone 2 the lowest percentages of closed bowls, *vasos*, and urns; and Zone 3 the largest percentage of mini-vessels. One of the rooms in Zone 3 (EA-110) had a huge offering of dozens of mini-urns. Zone 4 has the highest percentages of closed bowls, *vasos*, jars, and ollas. And Zone 5 has higher percentages of jars and large open bowls.

One administrative function of Wari patio groups was state-sponsored feasting events carried out in the large open patios. Cook and Glowacki (2003:185-191) infer that feasting activity can be identified as an important activity when the ceramic assemblage consists of more than 60% of cups and bowls. For example, in the Moraduchayoq sector at the Wari capital, about 70% of the ceramic assemblage of patios consists of serving vessels such as bowls and

cups. At both Huaro and Pikillacta, 70-90% of the ceramic assemblages of patio groups consist of serving vessels (mainly single serving sized bowls and cups). Finally, at Conchopata, 65% of the ceramic assemblage of the EA-112 Wari patio group/palace consists of serving vessels (bowl, cups, and oversized bowls).

Table 9 uses the same data as Table 8, except in this case vessel types are combined into broader categories. Single serving sized wares include closed bowls, open bowls, and *vasos*; food preparation and storage wares are combined to include jars, ollas, and large open bowls (*tazones*); and ceremonial wares include urns and mini-vessels. The difference between Zones 1 through 5 with respect to proportions of vessel categories is highly significant (χ^2 (8, n = 5977) = 73.35, $p < .000$).

Table 9: Percentage of vessel category per zone

Zone	Single serving vessels (open and closed bowls, vasos)	Food preparation and storage wares (jars, ollas, tazones)	Ceremonial wares (urns, mini-vessels)	Total
1	O = 335 (50.4%) E = 306.3	O = 307 (46.2%) E = 338.5	O = 23 (3.5%) E = 20.2	665
2	O = 262 (47.8%) E = 252.4	O = 275 (50.2%) E = 278.9	O = 11 (2.0%) E = 16.7	548
3	O = 291 (44.7%) E = 299.8	O = 308 (47.3%) E = 331.3	O = 52 (8.0%) E = 19.8	651
4	O = 459 (45.4%) E = 465.2	O = 534 (52.9%) E = 514.0	O = 17 (1.7%) E = 30.8	1010

Zone	Single serving vessels (open and closed bowls, vasos)	Food preparation and storage wares (jars, ollas, tazones)	Ceremonial wares (urns, mini-vessels)	Total
5	O = 1406 (45.3%) E = 1429.2	O = 1618 (52.1%) E = 1579.3	O = 79 (2.5%) E = 94.5	3103
Total	2753	3042	182	5977

Again, despite the highly significant results, there is very little difference overall in proportions of vessel categories across zones indicating that the strength of the differences is too small to be very meaningful. None of the zones had proportions of serving vessels that exceeded 60% of the ceramic assemblage. However, a discussion of general characteristics is undertaken in order to assess similarities and differences between zones and tentative interpretations are put forth to explain the artifact assemblages within each zone.

Zone 1, located just west of one of Conchopata's D-shaped structures, had the highest percentage of serving wares and the lowest percentage of food preparation/storage wares. Zone 1 also had a relatively high proportion of ceremonial wares, specifically over-sized Conchopata style urns which were used in large-scale, community-wide feasting events (Cook & Glowacki 2003). This combination of high proportions of single serving sized wares and oversized ceremonial wares suggest Zone 1 was engaged in more community-wide feasting than the other zones.

Zone 3 had the highest percentage of ceremonial wares and the lowest percentage of serving wares. Specifically, Zone 3 had a relatively high proportion of miniature ceramic urns. Miniature ceramic vessels are mainly found in mortuary contexts. Zone 3 is located north of the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace and two of the rooms in this zone, EA-110 and EA-138, were

mortuary rooms. The lower percentage of serving wares in Zone 3 suggest less community-wide feasting took place in this zone; however, the high percentage of ceremonial wares, specifically miniature ceramic vessels, suggests Zone 3 engaged in more private ceremonies associated with mortuary rituals.

Zone 4 had the highest percentage of food preparation/storage wares and the lowest percentage of ceremonial wares. The percentages of vessel categories in Zone 5 were very similar to those in Zone 4 suggesting these two zones, both located in the center of Sector B, were more involved in domestic activity associated with food preparation and storage rather than large-scale community-wide ceremonies. Zone 2 is more similar to Zones 4 and 5 than to Zones 1 and 3 suggesting it was also more involved in daily domestic activity.

6.3.2. Percentages of ceramic styles

Menzel's (1964) ceramic seriation divided Middle Horizon ceramic styles into four epochs: Epochs 1 (divided into Epochs 1A and 1B), 2 (divided into Epochs 2A and 2B), 3, and 4. Epoch 1A styles include Conchopata and Chakipampa A. Epoch 1B styles include Robles Moqo and Chakipampa B. Okros is an Epoch 1 style. Many Chakipampa B designs are also known locally at Conchopata as the Huamanga style. Viñaque is an Epoch 2 style. Less fancy Viñaque designs are also known locally as Huamanga. The Cruz Pata and Huarpa styles are from the preceding Early Intermediate Period ("EIP").

The Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles are strictly associated with large, oversized, well-made ceremonial pottery such as urns. Chakipampa A styles have elaborate designs and are well-made with rich colors. Wari blackware ceramics are noted for being entirely black-slipped with a high polish and consisting almost exclusively of serving wares. Chakipampa B, Huamanga, and less fancy Viñaque styles are associated with pottery for everyday use, such as

ollas, storage jars, and bowls. Because most of the Chakipampa ceramics were Chakipampa B styles, the two categories were combined for this analysis.

Based on the ceramic analysis conducted, most of the ceramic styles are Huamanga, often encompassing both Chakipampa B and less fancy Viñaque designs. Thus, most of the ceramics are from the Middle Horizon Epoch 1B and Epoch 2 periods. Chakipampa, Wari blackware, Huamanga and Viñaque are roughly contemporaneous.

If high-status households participated in more ceremonial activities, then some zones should stand out as having a higher percentage of Conchopata or Wari blackware ceramics. Table 10 shows the percentages of the most common ceramic styles found at Conchopata. For purposes of this analysis, some styles were combined. Thus, “EIP” styles were combined to include both Huarpa and Cruz Pata. "H&V" styles include Huamanga and Viñaque. These two styles were combined because they are often identified interchangeably. "Chakipampa" includes both Chakipampa A and Chakipampa B; but there was very little Chakipampa A style.

The Conchopata and Wari blackware styles are associated with ceremonial and high-status wares such as oversized urns and highly polished, state-associated serving vessels. Chakipampa and Huamanga/Viñaque styles are found on vessels that are used in daily domestic activities associated with food preparation, storage, and food consumption. The differences between Zones 1 through 5 with respect to ceramic styles is highly significant (χ^2 (16, $n = 2706$) = 76.69, $p < .000$).

Table 10: Percentages of ceramic styles per zone

Zone	EIP	Conchopata	Chakipampa	Wari blackware	H&V	Total
1	O = 28 (10.7%) E = 20.9	O = 5 (1.9%) E = 2.4	O = 114 (43.7%) E = 135.0	O = 9 (3.4%) E = 14.9	O = 105 (40.2%) E = 87.8	261

Zone	EIP	Conchopata	Chakipampa	Wari blackware	H&V	Total
2	O = 10 (4.6%) E = 17.3	O = 3 (1.4%) E = 2.0	O = 92 (42.6%) E = 111.8	O = 10 (4.6%) E = 12.3	O = 101 (46.8%) E = 72.6	216
3	O = 21 (7.0%) E = 24.0	O = 5 (1.7%) E = 2.8	O = 193 (64.5%) E = 154.7	O = 13 (4.3%) E = 17.0	O = 67 (22.4%) E = 100.6	299
4	O = 23 (4.8%) E = 38.8	O = 2 (0.4%) E = 4.5	O = 243 (50.2%) E = 250.4	O = 40 (8.3%) E = 27.5	O = 176 (36.4%) E = 162.8	484
5	O = 135 (9.3%) E = 116.0	O = 10 (0.7%) E = 13.4	O = 758 (52.4%) E = 748.1	O = 82 (5.7%) E = 82.3	O = 461 (31.9%) E = 486.3	1446
Total	217	25	1400	154	910	2706

Despite the extremely significant results, there is very little difference overall in percentages of ceramic styles across zones indicating that the strength of the differences is too small to be very meaningful. In any case, a discussion of general characteristics is undertaken in order to assess similarities and differences between zones.

In all of the zones, well over 80% of sherds were from the Middle Horizon Epoch 1B and Epoch 2 periods, indicating Conchopata was heavily occupied during these periods. Zone 1 has the highest percentage of early styles from the EIP and Middle Horizon Epoch 1 periods.

The Conchopata style is associated with well-made, elaborately decorated, oversized urns. Urns were used exclusively in ceremonial activity, and they are not found in burials or

domestic refuse (Menzel 1964:4). Zones 4 and 5 contain the lowest percentages of the Conchopata style, and Zone 1 the highest.

The Wari blackware style is a highly polished, black-slipped serving ware (single-serving sized cups, bowls, and small face-neck jars). This ceramic style is often found in offering contexts, such as the intact sub-floor ceramic offering in EA-148, or in high-status burials. Zones 4 and 5 have the highest percentage of the Wari blackware style, and Zone 1 the lowest.

The percentage of Chakipampa styles, most of which were Chakipampa B, is highest in Zone 3 and the lowest in Zone 2. This is opposite of the Huamanga/Viñaque styles where the highest percentages are located in Zone 2 and the lowest in Zone 3.

6.3.3. Percentages of decorated sherds

It is hypothesized that households with higher status or more power have greater access to higher quality ceramic vessels and other types of goods. Thus, some zones should stand out from others as having a higher percentage of decorated ceramics than other zones. Table 11 shows the number of observed and expected values of decorated and undecorated sherds in each zone. The difference between Zones 1 through 5 with respect to proportions of decorated and undecorated ceramics is highly significant (χ^2 (4, n = 28395) = 93.68, $p < .001$).

Table 11: Percentage of decorated sherds per zone

Zone	Total # of decorated sherds	Total # of undecorated sherds	Total # of sherds	% of decorated sherds
1	Observed = 462 Expected = 349.5	Observed = 1992 Expected = 2104.5	2454	18.8%
2	Observed = 284 Expected = 268.5	Observed = 1601 Expected = 1616.5	1885	15.1%
3	Observed = 491 Expected = 445.9	Observed = 2640 Expected = 2685.1	3131	15.7%

Zone	Total # of decorated sherds	Total # of undecorated sherds	Total # of sherds	% of decorated sherds
4	Observed = 759 Expected = 950.4	Observed = 5914 Expected = 5722.6	6673	12.8%
5	Observed = 2048 Expected = 2029.8	Observed = 12204 Expected = 12222.2	14252	14.4%
Total sherds	4044	24351	28395	

Despite the extremely significant results, there is very little difference overall in percentages of decorated sherds across zones indicating that the strength of the differences is too small to be very meaningful. In any case, Zone 1 has the highest percentage of decorated sherds and Zones 4 and 5 the lowest percentage.

6.3.4. Average room size

If the higher-status families live in bigger houses, then it is expected that certain zones will have larger rooms. Table 12 shows the average room size in each zone. However, the difference in average room size between zones is not significant ($F = .767$, $p = .554$). Despite the lack of significance, rooms in Zones 2 and 3 are smaller on average than in the other zones.

Table 12: Average room size per zone

	Average Room Size (95% confidence level)
Zone 1	9.15 m ² ± 4.31 m ²
Zone 2	7.47 m ² ± 1.58 m ²
Zone 3	6.65 m ² ± 1.38 m ²
Zone 4	9.16 m ² ± 2.11 m ²
Zone 5	10.54 m ² ± 6.04 m ²

6.3.5. Presence/absence of special finds

High-status households are argued to engage in a broader range of activities and have greater access to luxury goods than low-status households (Smith 1999). Table 13 shows the presence or absence of select special finds including luxury items and craft objects.

Table 13: Presence/Absence of Special Finds

	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5
Alisadores	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Molds	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Paletas	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Tornos	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Spindle Whorls	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Figurines	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Musical Instruments	Present	Absent	Absent	Absent	Present
<i>Spondylus</i>	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
<i>Tupus</i>	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Greenstone	Absent	Present	Present	Present	Present
Gold	Absent	Absent	Present	Present	Absent

Pottery production tools (molds, potter's wheels, and smoothing tools such as *paletas* and *alisadores*) were found in every zone, supporting the interpretation of Conchopata as a center for ceramic production. Likewise, spindle whorls were found in every zone. *Spondylus* and *tupus* were found in all zones. Greenstone was found in all zones except Zone 1. Gold was only present in Zones 3 and 4, and found only in tomb contexts. Musical instruments were only found in Zones 1 and 5. The presence of most items in all zones suggests households across zones engaged in similar activities such as pottery production or spinning/weaving, and had access to various luxury goods.

6.4. Interpretation of Zones

Five zones at Conchopata were compared with the expectation that inter-zonal variability would reveal status/wealth differences. Specifically, the zones were compared in terms of percentages of vessel types, ceramic styles, decorated vessels, room size, and special finds.

There are a variety of ways of distinguishing interhousehold status/wealth differences. In general, high-status families are expected to live in larger houses, participate in more ceremony and ritual, and engage in more specialized activities (Wilk & Rathje 1982; Smith 1987; Hendon 1991; McAnany 1992 & 1995; Hirth 1993; Stark & Hall 1993). Thus, we might expect high-status households to be located in zones that display a higher percentage of serving vessels such as bowls and cups; high-status ceramics such as Wari blackwares; ceremonial wares such as mini-vessels and oversized urns and jars; decorated vessels; prestige items such as greenstone and/or *Spondylus*; and/or artifacts such as figurines or musical instruments indicative of specialized activities. Thus, this analysis evaluated the following hypotheses:

1) If high-status households participated disproportionately in ceremonial or feasting activities at Conchopata, then one or more zones was expected to have a higher percentage of serving vessels or fancy urns than others. A chi-square analysis of differences in vessel types between zones was highly significant though the strength of the results was not very meaningful because the differences in proportions between zones were small. Despite this, Zone 1 had the highest percentage of single-serving sized vessels and Zones 1 and 3 had the highest percentage of ceremonial wares.

2) If high-status households participated in more ceremonial or feasting activities, then some zones should stand out as having a higher percentage of ceremonial Conchopata style wares or state-associated Wari blackwares. A chi-square analysis of differences in ceramic styles across zones was highly significant; however, the strength of the results was not very

meaningful because the differences in proportions between zones were small. In any case, Zone 1 had the highest percentage of ceremonial Conchopata styled ceramics which are mainly associated with oversized urns, and Zones 4 and 5 had the highest percentages of Wari blackwares which were a state-associated feasting ware.

3) High-status households often have greater access to high quality and/or decorated ceramic vessels. A chi square analysis of differences in proportions of decorated ceramics across zones was highly significant but the strength of the results was not very meaningful because the differences in proportions across zones were small. However, Zone 1 had the highest percentage of decorated sherds and Zones 4 and 5 had the lowest.

4) If high-status households were located in specific zones at Conchopata, then it was expected that the rooms in those zones would be larger than in other zones at the site. However, the difference in average room size between zones was not significant ($F = .767, p = .554$) suggesting that room size is not an indicator of status at Conchopata.

5) If high-status households had greater access to luxury items or participated more in specialized activities, then it was expected that certain types of artifacts would be found in some zones but not others. In terms of craft specialization, pottery production tools and spindle whorls were found in all five zones. Luxury items such as *Spondylus* and *tupus* were found in every zone. However, greenstone was in all zones except Zone 1. Musical instruments were only found in Zones 1 and 5. And gold was only found in Zones 3 and 4. Thus, the presence/absence of gold and musical instruments in some zones and not others suggests that different households engaged in certain special activities and/or that some households had greater access to certain types of luxury items.

6.4.1. Interpretation of Zone 1

Zone 1 had the highest proportion of serving wares (single serving sized bowls and cups), the second highest in ceremonial wares (oversized urns and mini-vessels), and the lowest in food preparation/storage vessels. Zone 1 also had the highest percentage of Conchopata style ceramics. The Conchopata style is mainly found on oversized urns and miniature urns, so that, not surprisingly, Zone 1 had the highest percentage of decorated sherds.

The relatively high proportions of serving and ceremonial wares in Zone 1 suggest community-wide feasting and/or ceremony and ritual were more frequent activities in this zone. The drinking of *chicha* was an important component of feasting and ceremonial activity in prehispanic times (Bray 2003:97-8; Cook 2004:156). Zone 1 was located to the west of one of Conchopata's D-shaped structures. Perhaps Zone 1 was associated with state-sponsored or religious ceremonies in which fancy, decorated Conchopata urns filled with *chicha* were used in formal ceremonies associated with religious activity carried out in the D-shaped structure, with *chicha* served in single-serving sized bowls to community-wide participants.

Zone 1 contained the highest percentage of early pottery styles (Huarpa, Okros and Conchopata) suggesting it was the most heavily occupied of all zones during the late EIP and early Middle Horizon. During the site's long occupation, the smashed ceramic offering tradition shifted from a more generalizing ceremonial expression in which rituals were public and focused on the gods during Conchopata's early period, to a more individualizing expression in which rituals involving ceremonial pot smashing occurred among a select group of people during Conchopata's later occupational phases (Milliken 1999). The fact that Zone 1 was a locus of state-sponsored events and/or religious ceremonies involving large-scale, community-wide feasting, and that it was the most heavily occupied zone during the early periods, corroborates

the argument that Conchopata political principles and display were focused on group-oriented activities involving community-wide participants during its early occupational periods (Milliken 1999).

In Zone 1, sub-floor animal offerings figured prominently, specifically in EA-187. The earliest use of EA-187 was also in line with the probable focus on community-wide ceremonial and ritual activity in Zone 1. During the earliest occupation, EA-187 was a small space enclosed by three walls; there was no wall along the north side of this space. An offering hole in the middle of the floor allowed direct access to a juvenile camelid offering below. This is the only offering hole found at Conchopata that is associated with a sacrificed animal burial. This unique feature suggests EA-187 was a special area open to community inhabitants where offerings could be made through an offering hole in the floor to a sacrificed animal that was perhaps ritually sacrificed or represented an important event or deity.

In summary, Zone 1 stands out as an area where ceremony and ritual were relatively common activities. The higher percentages of serving wares and elaborately decorated, oversized urns suggest that ceremonies involving urns filled with *chicha* served in single-serving bowls were more prominent in this zone, and the proximity of this zone to one of Conchopata's D-shaped structures suggests these activities may included a religious focus.

6.4.2. Interpretation of Zone 2

In terms of vessel types, Zone 2 fell in the middle among all the zones in terms percentages of vessel types and decorated sherds. However, its relatively higher percentages of food preparation and storage vessels combined with a lower percentage of ceremonial wares suggest that the Zone 2 assemblage reflects more daily domestic activities rather than the ritual practices of Zone 1.

Regarding ceramic styles, Zone 2 had the lowest percentage of EIP Huarpa style ceramics and the highest percentage of Middle Horizon Epoch 2 Huamanga/Viñaque styled ceramics suggesting that it was heavily occupied later in the site's history, perhaps indicating a southward expansion as the site grew.

As in all zones, Zone 2 contained craft production artifacts associated with pottery production and spinning/weaving, high-status goods such as *Spondylus*, and special objects such as figurines. In Zone 2, caches of *Spondylus* and greenstone figured prominently, specifically in mortuary room EA-153. Along its north wall was a small bench within which was an offering of 29 objects carved from greenstone and 23 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. The large bedrock tomb in EA-179 contained the highest number of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* compared to all other high-status tombs at Conchopata.

In summary, Zone 2 stands out from the other zones as having the highest percentage of late styled ceramics. Of the four rooms analyzed from this zone, three of them were mortuary rooms with high-status tombs. The only domestic space analyzed in Zone 2 was EA-180.

6.4.3. Interpretation of Zone 3

Zone 3 had the highest percentage of ceremonial wares (urns and mini-vessels) and the lowest percentage of serving wares (single serving sized bowls and cups). Zone 3 also had the highest percentage of Chakipampa ceramic styles indicating this zone was heavily occupied during the height of the Wari Empire. Finally, Zone 3 had the second highest percentage of decorated sherds. Standard craft production artifacts associated with pottery production and spinning/weaving, high-status goods such as *Spondylus*, and special objects such as figurines were all found in Zone 3.

The high proportion of ceremonial wares suggests that ceremony and ritual were frequent activities in this zone. Zone 3 was located in the northern area of the site and bordered the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. Isbell (2001a:25-7, 2001b, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) interprets Zone 3 as an administrative area associated with the palace. Though various types of ceremonial activity occurred in all zones, Zone 3 stands out for its ceremonial activity involving miniature urns. In Zone 3, a huge cache of 200 to 250 miniature ceramic urns was found in EA-94 (Wolff 2001) which was a room not analyzed in the present study. In addition, EA-110 had the highest proportion of miniature ceramic vessels than any other mortuary room at Conchopata.

Whereas Zone 1 had a relatively high proportion of ceremonial oversized urns, Zone 3 had the highest proportion of ceremonial miniature urns. Large-scale, community-wide feasting events involving the serving of *chicha* in oversized urns was an important activity in Zone 1. However, the presence of a high proportion of mini-urns in Zone 3 suggests ceremony of a different nature. Of the four rooms analyzed in Zone 3, two were associated with mortuary activity. These two rooms, EA-110 and EA-138, may have both been part of a larger mortuary complex and it is likely that they were associated with the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. Perhaps mini-urns were important in ceremonies in which symbolically large quantities of *chicha* were served in mini-urns to important ancestors.

In summary, Zone 3 was located in the northern area of the site and bordered the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. It was most heavily occupied during the height of the Wari Empire. Like all zones, Zone 3 yielded evidence of various types of ceremonial activity such as animal and ceramic offerings. However, this Zone was notable for a significant amount of ceremonial/ritual activity that involved offerings of miniature ceramic urns.

6.4.4. Interpretation of Zone 4

Zone 4 had the highest percentages of food preparation/storage vessels and the lowest percentage of ceremonial wares. It also had the highest percentage of Wari blackware ceramics and the lowest percentage of Conchopata style ceramics. Wari blackware ceramics are state-associated, black slipped, highly polished wares composed almost exclusively of single-serving sized bowls and small face-neck jars (Anders 1986:330); the use of this feasting ware was probably restricted to individuals of high-status. Finally, Zone 4 had the lowest percentage of decorated sherds. Wari blackwares were probably restricted in use to individuals of high-status.

The higher percentages of food preparation/storage vessels combined with low percentages of ceremonial vessels and the lowest percentage of decorated sherds in Zone 4 suggest an assemblage reflecting daily domestic activities. However, the presence of a high proportion of Wari blackwares indicates that small-scale feasting events among households in this zone were more frequent. The low proportion of ceremonial wares suggests that community-wide, public ceremony and ritual was not an important activity in this zone.

Zone 4 specifically stands out for numerous ceremonial/ritual activities that were most likely practiced on a small-scale, either on an individual or household level. The most notable room was patio EA-148. This patio had a bench with an offering hole along its east wall. The final activity in this room prior to abandonment involved the placement of a large ceramic offering in a pit beneath the floor and feasting activity associated with a pot smashing ceremony. Both EA-149 and EA-182 probably served a domestic function. However, prior to or upon abandonment, numerous objects of greenstone and *Spondylus* were intentionally left on the floor or in sub-floor pits. Finally, EA-150 was a mortuary room that had the largest, most elaborate

offering house. Beneath this offering house was a large, rectangular tomb whose main occupants were female.

In summary, Zone 4 appears to be a residential zone. It had the lowest percentage of decorated sherds and the highest percentage of food preparation and storage vessels. Its high percentage of Wari blackware ceramics coupled with evidence of small-scale ceremonial/ritual activity suggest that this zone was inhabited by high-status households who engaged in ceremonial activity at the household level.

6.4.5. Interpretation of Zone 5

Zone 5 had similar proportions of vessel type categories as Zone 4, with higher percentages of food preparation and storage vessels and lower percentages of ceremonial wares. Like Zone 4, Zone 5 had a high percentage of Wari blackware ceramics and the second lowest percentage of Conchopata style ceramics. Finally, like Zone 4, Zone 5 had a lower percentage of decorated sherds. Artifacts associated with pottery production, spinning and weaving, and various types of high-status goods were found in Zone 5, which is not surprising considering that over 20 rooms were analyzed in this zone.

The higher percentages of food preparation and storage vessels combined with the low percentages of ceremonial vessels and decorated sherds in Zone 5 suggest an assemblage that reflects daily domestic activities. However, the presence of a high proportion of high-status Wari blackware ceramics indicates that households in Zone 5 were engaged in more small-scale feasting activity than other zones. As in Zone 4, the low proportion of ceremonial wares in Zone 5 suggests that community-wide public ceremony and ritual was not a frequent activity in this zone.

Like the other zones, various types of ceremonial activity occurred in Zone 5 including offerings of animals and *Spondylus*, as well as intentional ceramic smashes left on floors. As in Zone 4, the ceremonial/ritual activities carried out in Zone 5 were practiced on a small-scale at the household level. However, Zone 5 specifically stands out in two ways. First, the three largest households (see Chapter 4) were located in Zone 5 as were the two mortuary complexes; evidence of ceramic smashes was found in each mortuary complex. And second, the two rooms with multiple infant/child bench burials (EA-88 and EA-147) were located in this zone.

In summary, with its high percentage of food preparation and storage vessels, low percentage of ceremonial wares and decorated sherds, and abundant evidence of domestic ceremony and ritual, Zone 5 was probably a residential area inhabited by high-status households whose members engaged in various rituals and ceremonies at the household level.

6.5. Summary of Zone Analysis

In general, Zones 1 and 3 were similar to each other, as were Zones 4 and 5. Zone 2 was most similar to Zones 4 and 5. However, despite the fact that the differences between zones were highly significant in terms of proportions of vessel types, ceramic styles, and decorated sherds, the strength of the results was not very meaningful because differences in proportions were generally small. Room size was not a significant measure of status at Conchopata. Overall, the results show very little differences in ceramic assemblages among zones indicating that similar kinds of activities occurred in all zones such as pottery production, spinning/weaving, and various types of ceremonies and rituals. Thus, this analysis found that status and wealth distinctions between households in Sector B at Conchopata are not reflected in ceramic assemblage variability.

An assumption of the zonal analysis was that all the zones were residential; however, the results of the analysis did not identify notably distinct differences between zones in terms of status and wealth. However, Zones 4 and 5 are confidently interpreted as high-status residential areas based on proportions of vessel types, presences of luxury items, room features, domestic and ritual activities, and high-status burials. These two zones produced abundant evidence of ceremony and ritual practiced at the household level such mortuary rituals, dedicatory offerings of luxury items and sacrificed animals, small-scale feasting events, and ceremonial pot smashes.

Zone 3 is probably also a high-status residential area based on its association with the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace. Rooms in Zone 1 have been identified as domestic/workshop spaces. However, neither Zone 1 nor Zone 2 produced patterns suggestive of lower-status residential areas. And, in fact, the ceramic assemblages of Zones 1 and 2 were not remarkably different from those in Zones 3, 4, and 5 which suggest that Zones 1 and 2 were also elite residential areas.

However, the zone analysis found that certain ceremonial and ritual activities were probably more frequent in some zones than others. For example, rituals and community-wide ceremonies occurred more in Zones 1 and 3. This interpretation is based on the high percentages of ceremonial and/or serving wares, Conchopata ceramic style, and decorated sherds. These two zones were closely associated with hallmarks of Wari corporate architecture, a D-shaped structure or a Wari patio group/palace, which may have been where some of these rituals and ceremonies took place. But the proportion of ceremonial vessels found in these two zones was markedly different. Zone 1 had a higher percentage of oversized urns whereas Zone 3 had the highest percentage, by far, of miniature vessels, specifically mini-urns. Thus, in Zone 1 community-wide ceremonies were more frequent based on the high proportion of single serving

sized vessels and Conchopata oversized urns which suggest the serving of *chicha* in oversized urns to numerous individuals. But in Zone 3, exclusive ceremony and ritual were more frequent based on the high proportion of miniature urns associated with mortuary rooms that contained high-status burials.

The zonal analysis also found that small-scale ceremony and ritual was more frequent in Zones 4 and 5. Specifically, these two zones had the highest percentage of high-status Wari blackware ceramics (which does not include Wari blackware ceramics found in burials). These vessels almost exclusively consisted of serving wares: bowls, cups, and small face-neck jars (see Figure 53). Unlike serving vessels in the common Chakipampa and Huamanga styles which were ubiquitous at Conchopata, Wari blackware ceramics make up a small proportion of ceramic assemblages. The use of this state-associated serving ware was probably restricted to individuals of higher-status such as Wari state administrators (Anders 1986:330). The fact that the highest percentages of Wari blackware ceramics were found in Zones 4 and 5 suggests that small-scale feasting events occurred more frequently among high-status households within these zones. In fact, one of the final activities carried out in EA-148, located in Zone 4, was feasting associated with ceremonial pot smashing. As part of this ceremony, a cache of 25 ceramic vessels was placed in a below-floor pit. All but one of the vessels in this cache were serving vessels, and 15 were Wari blackware vessels (small face-neck jars, five open bowls with in-built straws, four cups, and one open bowl).

Figure 53: Typical Wari blackware ceramic vessels from the EA-148 intact ceramic offering
(small face-neck jar, open bowl with built-in straw, cup)



Though Zone 2 did not stand out from the other zones but rather fell in the middle in terms of artifact proportions, it was most similar to Zones 4 and 5, indicating that domestic activities were predominant in structuring ceramic assemblages in this zone, and that private ceremony and ritual took place in mortuary rooms.

7. ARCHITECTURAL SPACE ANALYSIS

Two types of analysis were conducted using architectural spaces. In the first type, a multidimensional scaling analysis was carried out to identify similarities between rooms. The goal of the multidimensional scaling analysis was to establish room function and identify special activities. Specifically, it was expected that households would consist of similar types of rooms (patios, workshop spaces, and/or domestic spaces used for food preparation and/or storage). In the second type of analysis, proportions of artifact types within each room were explored in greater detail, and rooms were compared across zones with the goal of identifying spatial variability that could not be identified in the zonal analysis. High-status households should be distinct from low-status households in terms of having higher proportions of serving vessels or ceremonial wares, larger houses, greater access to luxury goods, and/or being more involved in private ceremony and ritual. The goal of these analyses was to test the proposition that certain households participated more in specialized and/or ceremonial activities.

7.1. Methodology

A multidimensional scaling analysis was conducted to find out which rooms were similar to each other. In this analysis, 38 architectural spaces were evaluated along 15 variables. All zones were located in Sector B at Conchopata. Of the ceramic vessel artifacts, only diagnostic ceramics were analyzed (bases, rims, and decorated body sherds). EA-37 and EA-38 were not included in this analysis.

Because of numerous cultural processes contributing to the disturbance of the site, the methodological approach was akin to an archaeological survey, with each room treated as a separate test pit. In other words, rather than look at individual stratum within each room, artifacts found in above-floor fill (from the present-day ground surface to the encounter of the

first floor) from each room were pooled. In some cases, artifacts found in below-floor contexts were examined separately from above-floor fill because some artifact types were intentionally placed beneath the floor, such as in offering contexts or tombs. However, not all the rooms were excavated to bedrock, though all intrusions through floors were excavated.

7.2. Results of Multidimensional Scaling Analysis of Architectural Spaces

A multidimensional scaling analysis of three dimensions was conducted to determine similarities between rooms at Conchopata. Dimensions 1 and 2 as well as Dimensions 1 and 3 both produced interpretable but similar patterns. Therefore, only the patterns produced by Dimensions 1 and 2 will be discussed, and only the scatterplots producing discernible patterns will be displayed (see Appendix J for the complete results of this multidimensional scaling analysis). Dimensions 2 and 3 did not produce any obvious patterns.

The following rooms were included in this analysis: 6, 9, 12, 31, 36, 39, 59, 64, 88, 90, 105, 109, 110, 132, 138, 140, 141, 142, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 187, 189, 191, 194, 195, 196, 40A, 44A, 44B. EA-37 and EA-38 were excluded because these architectural spaces were problematic; EA-38 was a small room with an offering house and EA-37 also had a cist tomb beneath its floor and may have been an offering house.

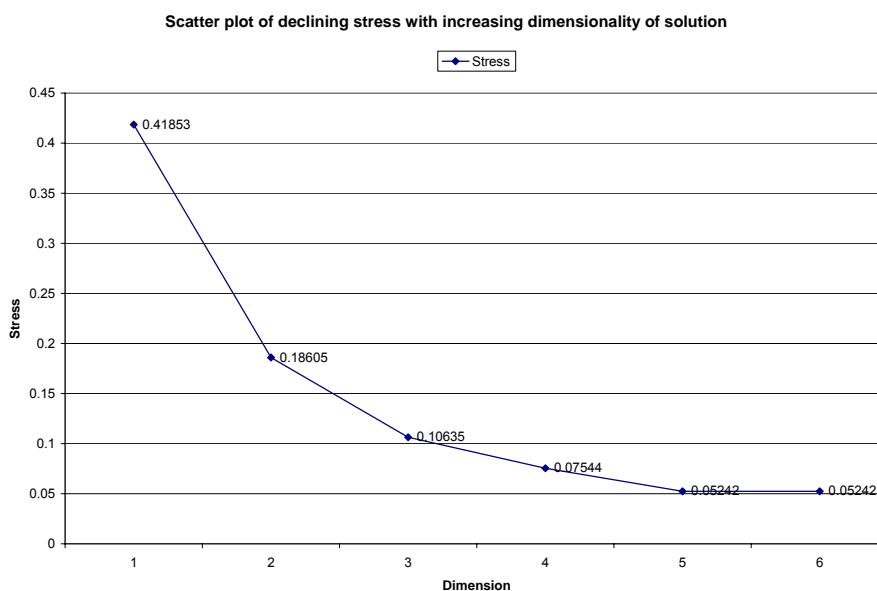
Among the variables included in this multidimensional scaling analysis were several that were expected to be measures of status and/or wealth, occupational specialization, or special activity. For example, the presence/absence of certain features (hearths, benches, camelid offerings, human burials) or luxury goods (*Spondylus* or greenstone) may be an indication of specific functions or activities that occurred in the room. The 15 variables included in the analysis were:

1. Floor area of the room in square meters.
2. Percentage of Wari blackware style ceramics.

3. Percentage of bowls in above-floor fill.
4. Percentage of jars in above-floor fill.
5. Percentage of miniature vessels.
6. Presence or absence of a bench.
7. Presence or absence of a hearth.
8. Presence or absence of burials.
9. Presence or absence of musical instruments.
10. Presence or absence of spindle whorls.
11. Presence or absence of *Spondylus*.
12. Presence or absence of camelid offerings.
13. Presence or absence of greenstone.
14. Presence or absence of offering holes.
15. Presence or absence of beads.

Variables 1 thru 5 were coded as ratio variables and variables 6 thru 15 were coded as binary variables; thus, a coefficient for mixed variables sets was used to measure similarities between cases in this multidimensional scaling analysis of architectural spaces. Figure 54 shows the scatter plot of declining stress with increasing dimensionality of solution. In this case, a multidimensional scaling solution of three dimensions, which represents 91.6% of the variance explained, was chosen for analysis and only the results from Dimensions 1 and 2 are discussed.

Figure 54: Scatter plot of declining stress with increasing dimensionality of solution.



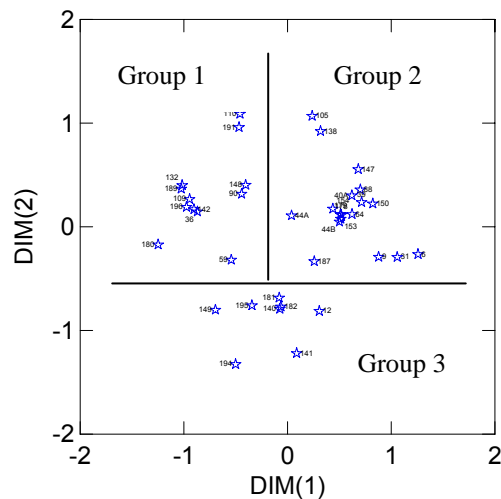
7.2.1. Groups Produced by Dimensions 1 and 2

Dimensions 1 and 2 produced three main groups. Table 14 lists the architectural spaces within each group and Figure 55 shows a scatter plot of the three groups with the points relabeled with the architectural space number. Within each group is a main cluster of rooms that were most similar to each other. Also identified are "outliers" within each group representing rooms that were within the group but outside of the main cluster of rooms.

Table 14: Architectural spaces within each cluster in Dimensions 1 and 2

Group 1 = 12 rooms	Group 2 = 18 rooms	Group 3 = 8 rooms
Main cluster: 36, 109, 132, 142, 189, 196	Main cluster: 39, 40A, 44A, 44B, 64, 88, 147, 150, 153, 154, 178, 179	Main cluster: 12, 140, 149, 181, 182, 195
"Outliers": 59 180 90 and 148 110 and 191	"Outliers": 187 105 and 138 6, 9, and 31	"Outliers" 141 194

Figure 55: Scatterplot showing groups produced by Dimensions 1 and 2



Dimensions 1 and 2 produced discernible patterns for the following variables: presence/absence of benches, hearths, burials, musical instruments, spindle whorls, camelid offerings, greenstone, offering holes, and beads. Though there were no patterns for the variables representing room area or percentages of vessel styles or types, when averaging these numbers per group a few differences are seen (see Table 15 for average percentages of variables). Specifically, Group 1 rooms tend to have higher percentages of jars. In addition, Group 2 rooms are larger than those in the other groups. Finally, the percentage of miniature vessels in Group 3 rooms is only about one-third of that in the other groups.

Table 15: Averages per group in Dimensions 1 and 2

Variable	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Room area in square meters	7.57 m ²	11.3 m²	7.41 m ²
Total percentage of Wari blackware style ceramics in the room	2.01%	2.90%	2.45%
Percentage of bowls in above-the-room fill	41.00%	46.36%	50.16%
Percentage of jars in above-the-room fill	48.26%	42.13%	42.64%
Total percentage of miniature vessels in the room	2.05%	2.38%	0.69%

7.2.2. Scatterplots of Dimensions 1 and 2

Presence (1)/absence (0) of a bench

Benches were found in all zones. Group 2 rooms were characterized as having benches (see figure 56). Over half of the rooms in Group 3 had benches. Only two rooms in Group 1 had benches.

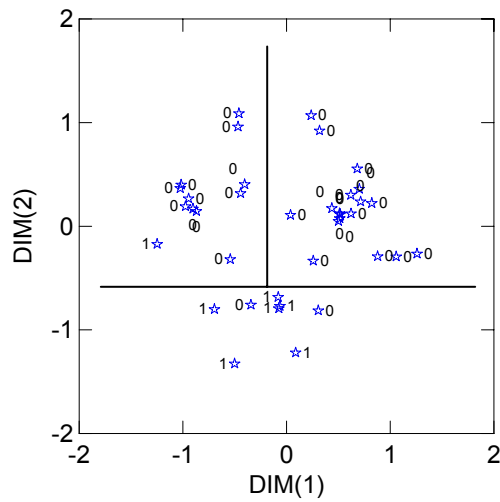
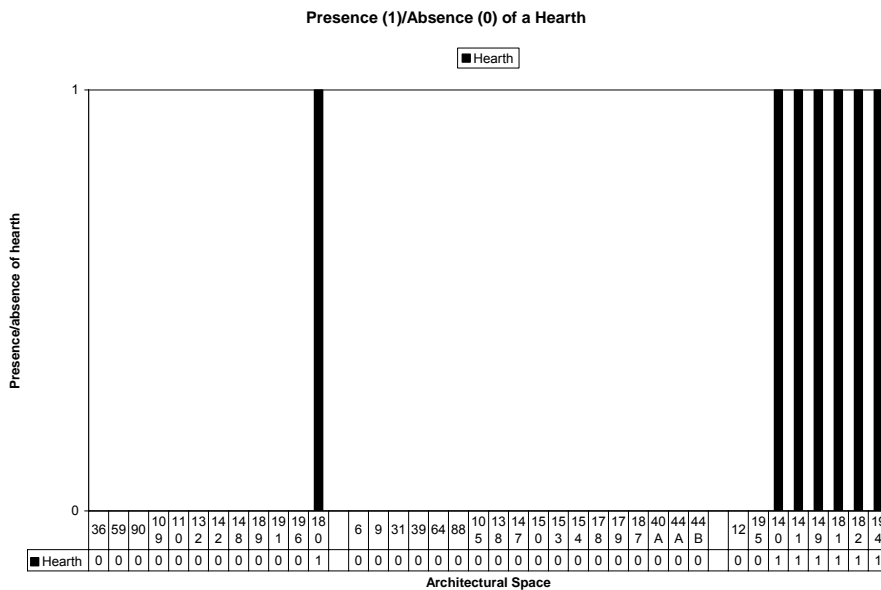


Figure 57: Presence/absence of hearth (organized by group).



Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Burials

All of the rooms in Group 2 contained human burials (see Figure 58). Though EA-187 did not have identifiable burials, numerous human skeletal remains were found. There were no burials in Group 3 rooms, and only two rooms had burials in Group 1. Burials were found in all zones.

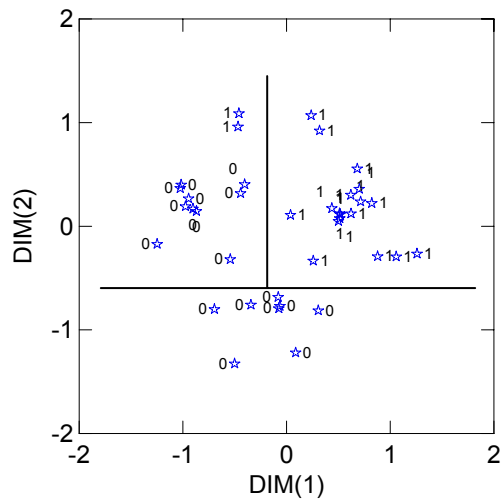
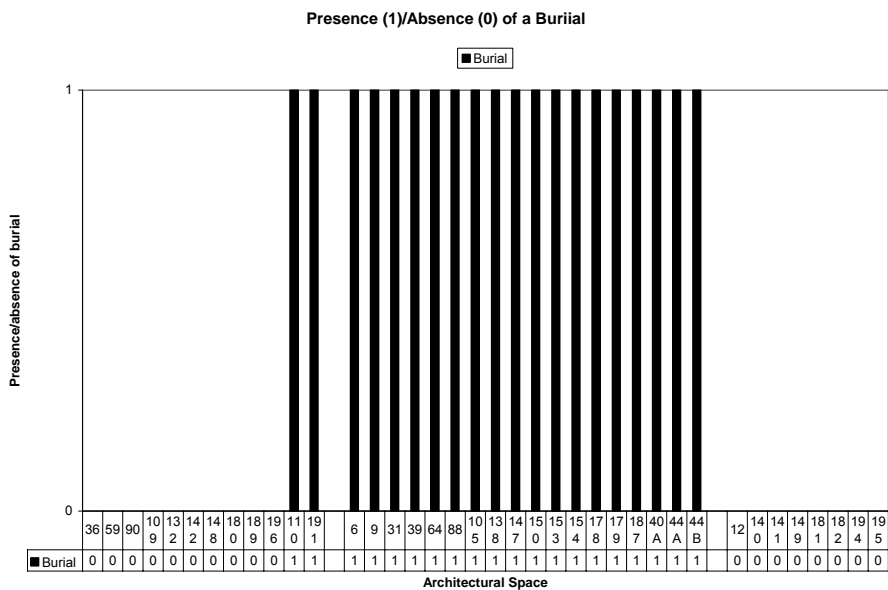


Figure 58: Presence/absence of burials (organized by group).



Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Musical Instruments

Musical instruments were found in rooms in Groups 2 and 3 (see Figure 59). Group 1 rooms did not have musical instruments. Musical instruments are only found in Zones 1 and 5.

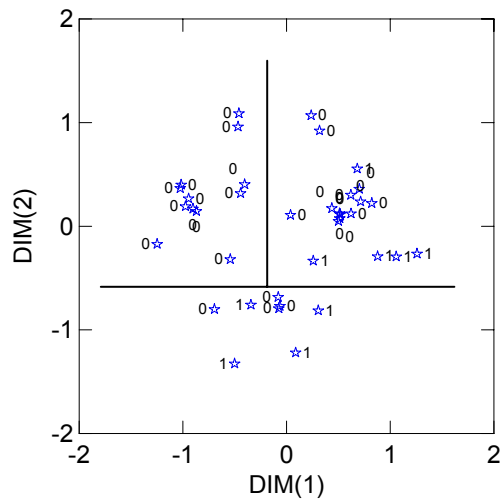
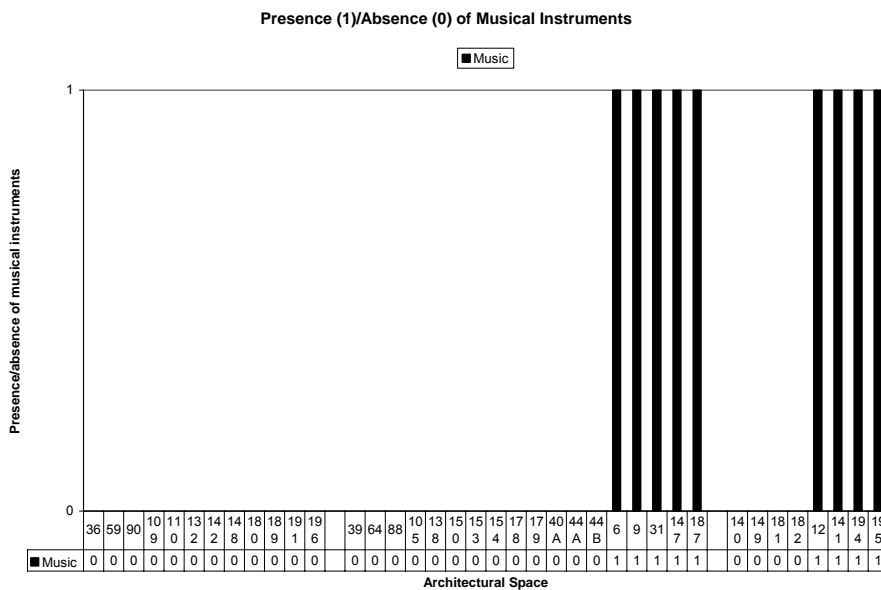


Figure 59: Presence/absence of musical instruments (organized by group).



Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Spindle Whorls

Spindle whorls were found in all the rooms in Group 3 and in most of the rooms in Group 2 (see Figure 60). Only one room in Group 1 had spindle whorls. Spindle whorls were found in all zones.

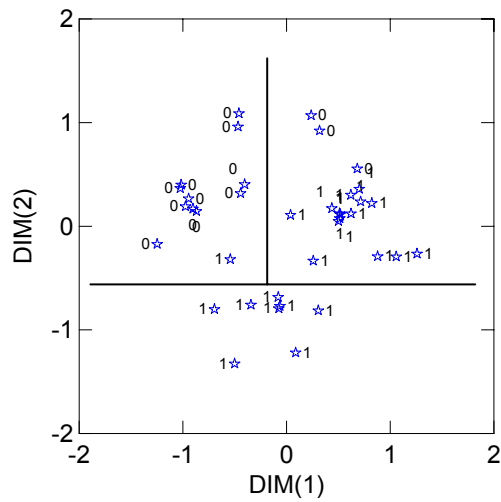
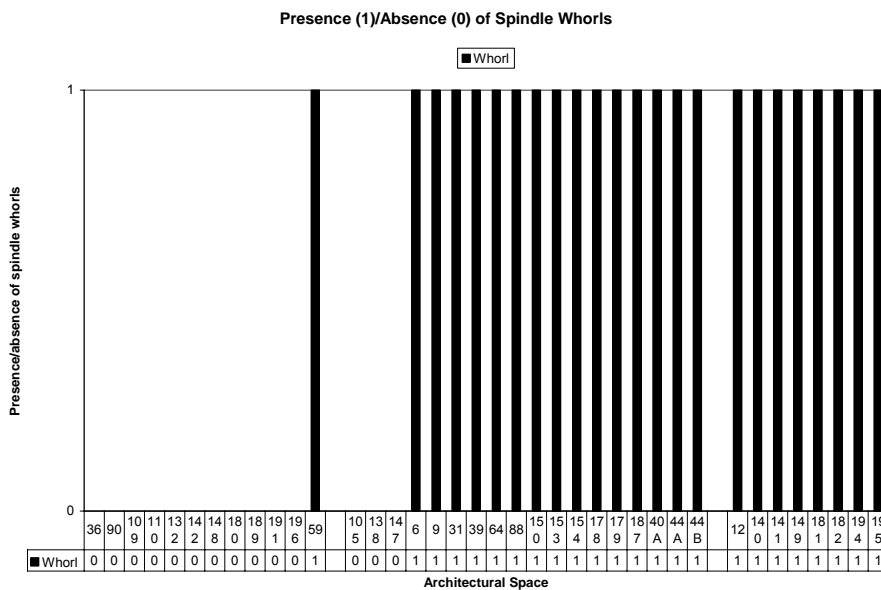


Figure 60: Presence/absence of spindle whorls (organized by group).



Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Camelid Offering

Camelid offerings were mainly found in rooms in Group 2 (see Figure 61). Rooms in Group 3 did not have camelid offerings. Camelid offerings were found in all zones.

Camelid offerings were rarely found in rooms devoted to mortuary activity. EA-44A, the central room in Mortuary Complex “A,” had two camelid offerings but the burials were not

prominent in this room. EA-6 had two bedrock tombs beneath benches, but this space functioned as a patio. Finally, the camelid offering in EA-40A predates the large bedrock tomb.

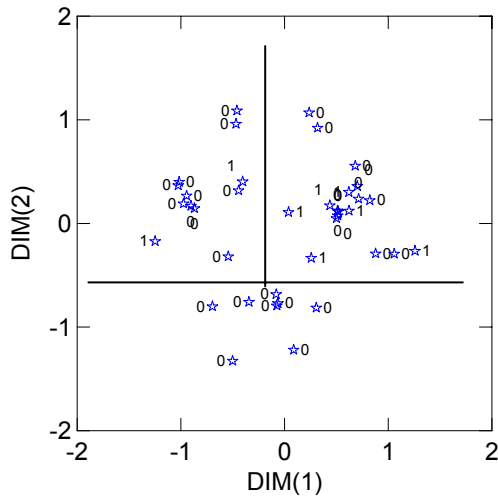
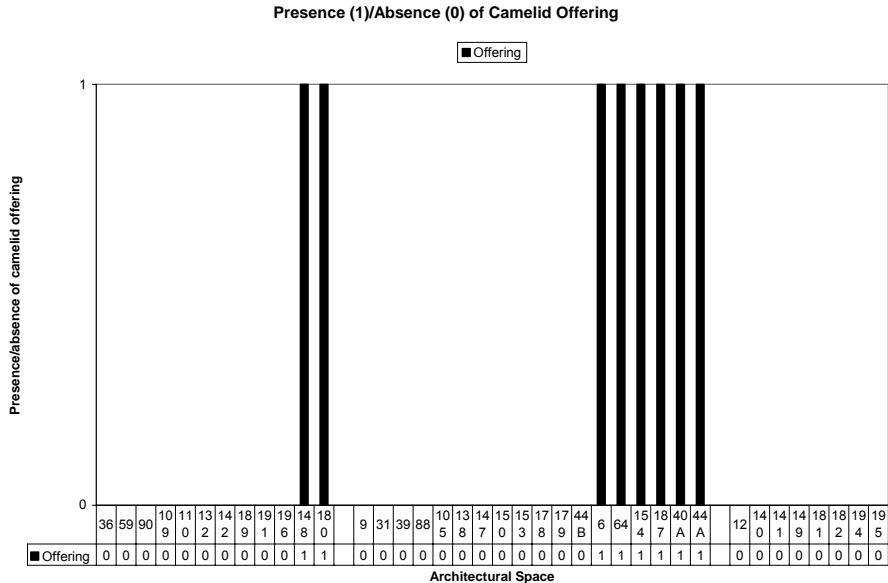


Figure 61: Presence/absence of camelid offering (organized by group).



Presence/absence of greenstone

Objects made of greenstone were mainly found in Group 2 rooms (see Figure 62). Greenstone was found in all zones except Zone 1.

hole in Group 1 rooms was found in EA-148, which was not associated with a human burial. Offering holes were found in all zones.

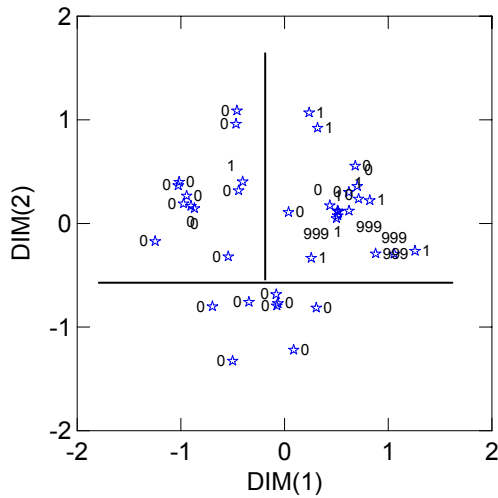
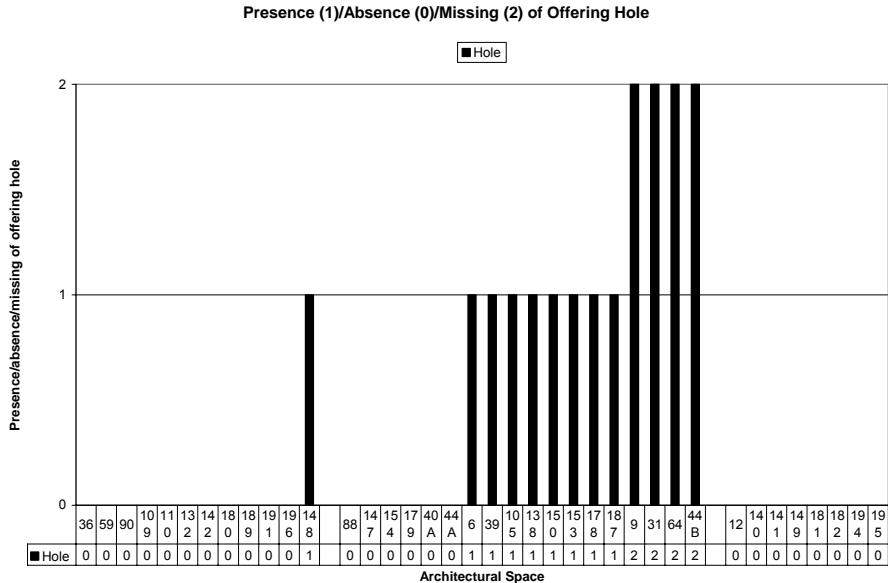


Figure 63: Presence/absence of offering hole (organized by group).



Presence/absence of beads

Though found in a few rooms in Groups 1 and 3, beads were mainly found in Group 2 rooms (see Figure 64).

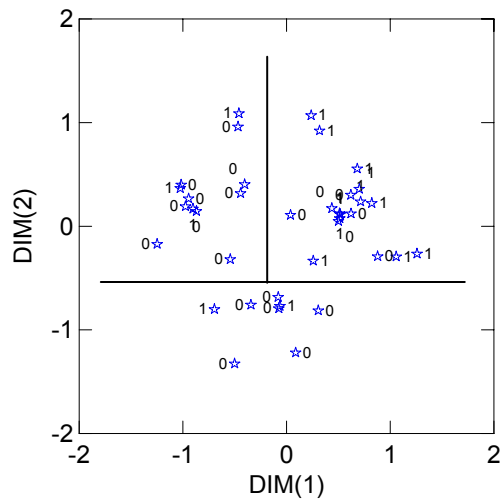
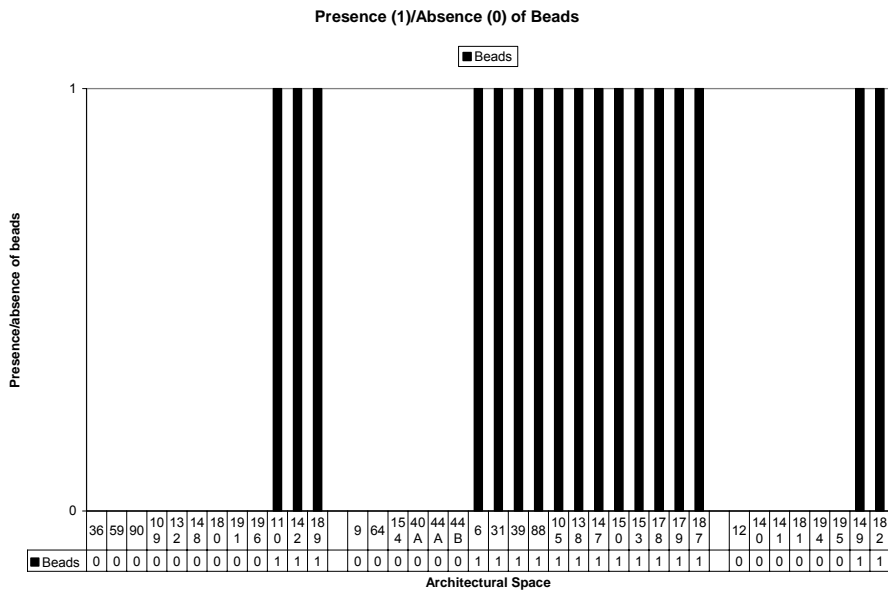


Figure 64: Presence/absence of beads (organized by group).



7.2.3. Interpretation of Groups Produced by Dimensions 1 and 2

Table 16 gives a broad summary of the patterns present in relevant scatter plots produced by Dimensions 1 and 2. Group 1 rooms are distinguished by their overall absence of relevant artifacts, with a few exceptions. In Group 2, rooms are characterized by having subfloor burials,

musical instruments, spindle whorls, camelid offerings, and offering holes. Finally, Group 3 rooms are characterized by the presence of hearths, musical instruments, and spindle whorls.

Table 16: Summary of patterns for each group in Dimensions 1 and 2

Variable	Group 1 = 12 rooms	Group 2 = 18 rooms	Group 3 = 8 rooms
Benches	Present in 17% of rooms	Present in 90% of rooms	Present in 62% of rooms
Hearths	Present in 8% of rooms	Absent	Present in 75% of rooms
Burials	Present in 17% of rooms	Present in 100% of rooms	Absent
Musical Instruments	Absent	Present in 28% of rooms	Present in 50% of rooms
Spindle Whorls	Present in 8% of rooms	Present in 83% of rooms	Present in 100% of rooms
Camelid Offering	Present in 17% of rooms	Present in 33% of rooms	Absent
Greenstone	Present in 17% of rooms	Present in 67% of rooms	Present in 37% of rooms
Offering Hole	Present in 8% of rooms	Present in 44% of rooms	Absent
Beads	Present in 25% of rooms	Present in 67% of rooms	Present in 25% of rooms

In general, Group 2 rooms stand out for their association with special activities relating to mortuary ceremony and ritual. All rooms, except EA-187, contained at least one human burial. Offering holes and benches were common features, and greenstone and beads were common grave goods all of which were associated with high-status burials. These rooms also tend to be larger on average and they had higher proportions of Wari blackware ceramics and miniature

ceramic vessels than in Groups 1 and 3 rooms. Wari blackware ceramics and mini-vessels were grave offerings mainly found in high-status tombs.

Rooms in Group 3 contained hearths and spindle whorls, suggesting daily domestic activities occurred in these rooms. Many of these rooms also had benches. Based on features present in Group 3 rooms (see Chapter 4), they are best interpreted as domestic and/or workshop spaces. These rooms had the lowest percentages of miniature ceramic vessels and the highest percentage of bowls.

Finally, with a few exceptions, evidence of special activities was largely absent from rooms in Group 1. These rooms also had the lowest percentages of bowls and Wari blackware ceramics. In addition, rooms in Group 1 had the highest percentage of jars on average than those in Groups 2 and 3. Like the rooms in Group 3, based on features present in most of the rooms in Group 1 (see Chapter 4), they are best interpreted as domestic and/or workshop spaces.

Though Group 1 rooms are characterized for an overall absence of relevant artifacts and features, three rooms stand out as exceptions: EA-110, EA-191, and EA-148. EA-110 was a mortuary room and contained greenstone, beads, and a destroyed tomb. The lack of features and artifacts found in EA-110 was due to the fact that it was heavily looted and destroyed; thus, there is probably much missing data from this room. EA-191 had a sub-floor burial in it with a single piece of greenstone; however, the main occupant of this burial was probably of lower-status. Based on features present in EA-191, it was interpreted as a domestic/workshop space (see Chapter 4). EA-148 stands out for yielding evidence of special activities in the form of a camelid offering and an offering hole in its bench. This room also contained greenstone. However, there was no burial associated with the offering hole.

Thus, Dimensions 1 and 2 produced two distinct groups of rooms. Group 2 rooms are associated with special activities involving mortuary ceremonies/rituals and animal sacrifices. Group 3 rooms stand out as domestic/workshop spaces. Group 1 rooms are mainly domestic/workshop spaces though this group has three outliers that do not fit neatly into the domestic/workshop category and produced some evidence of specialized activities.

7.3. Artifact Analysis of Architectural Spaces

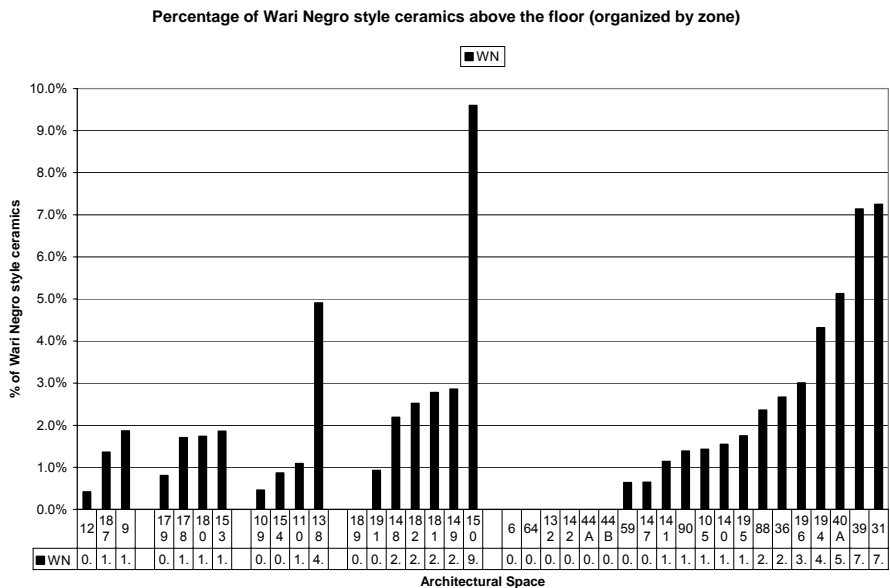
Several variables used in the above multidimensional scaling analysis are explored in greater detail. In this second analysis, variables are examined in order to identify patterns across zones.

7.3.1. Wari blackware ceramics

Wari blackware ceramics are state-associated, black slipped, highly polished wares that were probably restricted in use to individuals of high status (Anders 1986:330). These wares are composed almost exclusively of single-serving sized bowls and small face-neck jars. Based on their restricted use and limited forms (single-serving sized), these vessels were probably used in high-status feasting events. They are also found in high-status burials and offering contexts.

Figure 65 shows the percentage of Wari blackware sherds in above-floor fill per room within each zone. The five rooms with the highest percentages of Wari blackware ceramics had tombs in them (EA-31, EA-39, EA-40A, EA-138, and EA-150). This may indicate that high-status feasting was associated with mortuary activity or that these ceramic vessels were originally part of grave goods that were scattered when the tombs were looted.

Figure 65: Percentage of Wari blackware style sherds in above-floor fill (organized by zone)

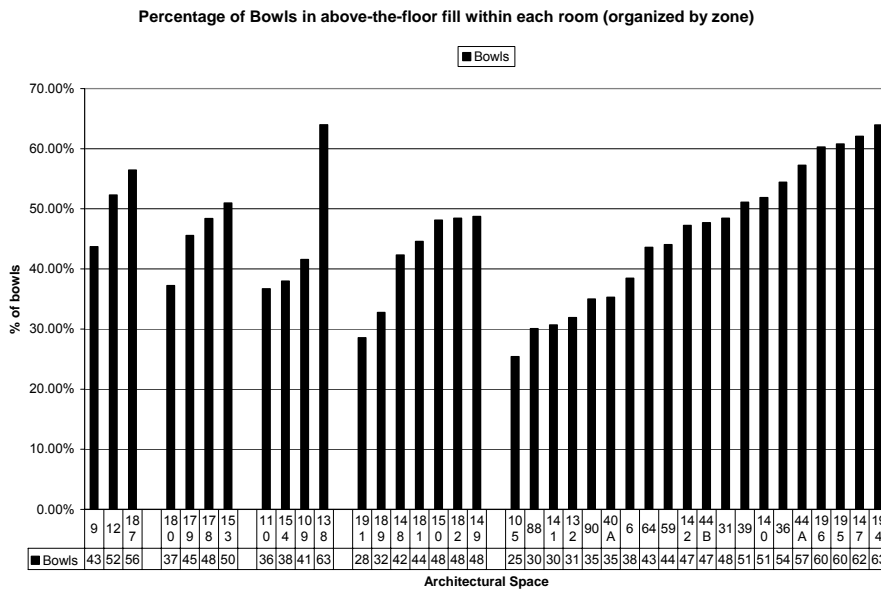


7.3.2. Bowls

The presence of a large proportion of bowls is argued to be strong evidence for large-scale feasting activity. Specifically, Cook & Glowacki (2003) suggest that feasting activity can be identified when the ceramic assemblage consists of more than 60% of single serving sized cups and bowls.

Figure 67 shows the percentage of open and closed bowl sherds in above-floor fill within each room. Of the five rooms with over 60% of their ceramic assemblages consisting of bowls, four (EA-147, EA-194, EA-195, and EA-196) were located in Zone 5. Interestingly, these four rooms comprise a domestic unit centered around proposed patio EA-154. EA-138, located in Zone 3, has the highest percentage of bowls. This room was devoted to mortuary activity and contained several sub-floor tombs.

Figure 66: Percentage of bowls in above-floor fill (organized by zone)

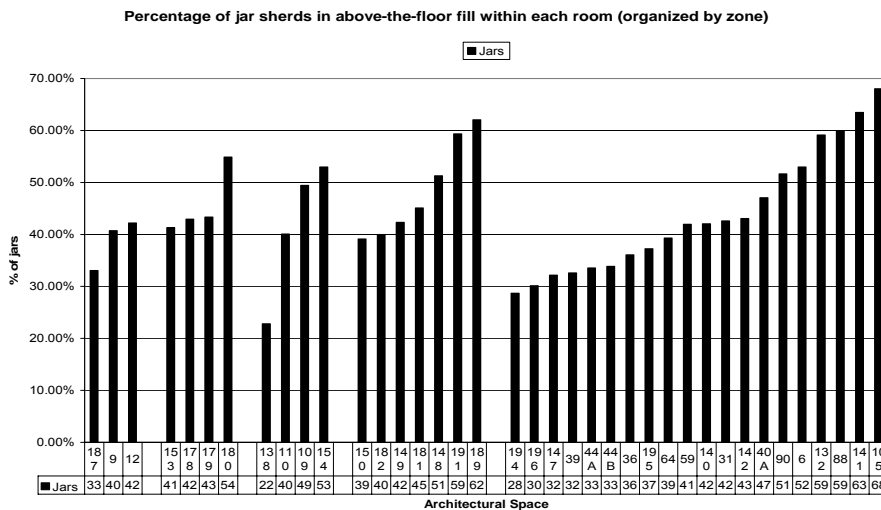


7.3.3. Jars

The presence of a large proportion of jars is often given as evidence for storage, and in the Andes jars are also used in *chicha* preparation (Cook & Glowacki 2003:180). Figure 68 shows the percentage of jar sherds in above-floor fill within each room.

In 11 rooms, over 50% of ceramic assemblages in above-floor-fill consisted of jars. Six of these rooms (EA-6, EA-88, EA-105, EA-132, and EA-141) were located in Zone 5, and three (EA-148, EA-189, and EA-191) were located in Zone 4. There was one each in Zone 3 (EA-154) and Zone 2 (EA-180).

Figure 67: Percentage of jar sherds in above-floor fill (organized by zone)



7.3.4. Miniature Vessels

Miniature ceramic vessels were mainly found in offering contexts and burials suggesting they were associated with ceremonial/ritual activity. Figure 69 shows the percentage of mini-vessels in above-floor fill. Four of the five rooms (EA-39, EA-40A, EA-110, and EA-178) with the highest percentages of mini-vessels were in rooms with tombs. EA-110 stands out as having a disproportionately higher percentage of mini-vessels than any of the other architectural spaces.

Figure 68: Percentage of miniature vessels in above-floor fill.

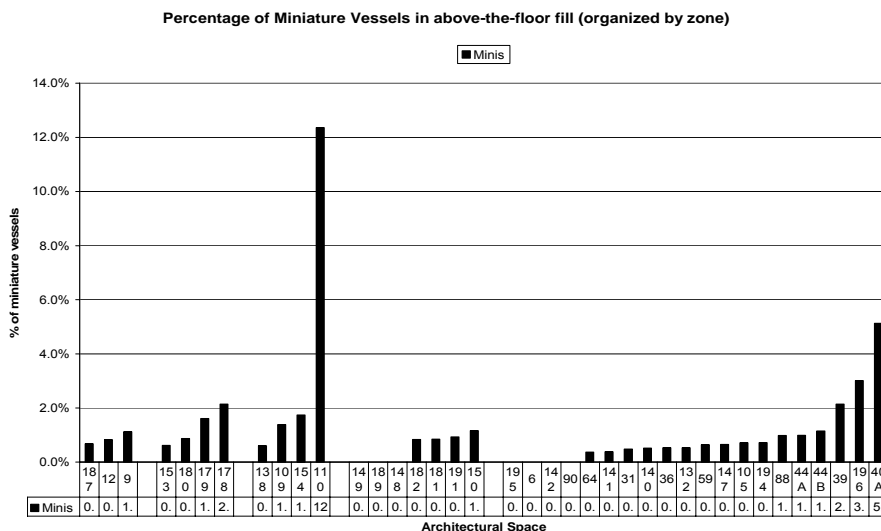
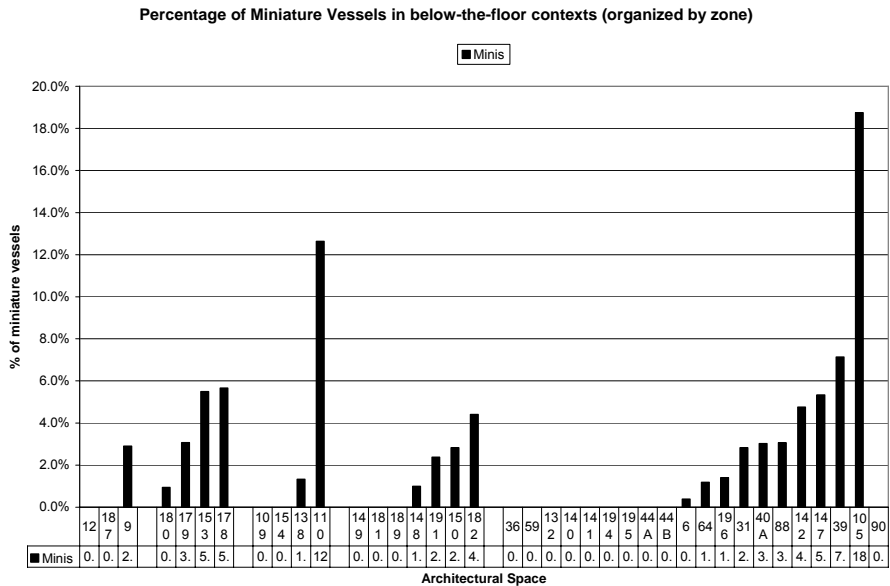


Figure 70 shows the percentage of mini-vessels in below-floor contexts; mini-vessels below the floor were usually found in burials or offering contexts. The five rooms (EA-39, EA-105, EA-110, EA-153, and EA-178) with the highest percentages of mini-vessels in below-floor contexts were all rooms with tombs in them. In fact, 16 of the 21 rooms that had miniature ceramic vessels in below-floor contexts had tombs in them.

Figure 69: Percentage of miniature vessels in below-floor contexts.



7.4. Discussion and Summary of Architectural Space Analysis

In general, the multidimensional scaling analysis produced two broad categories of rooms at Conchopata: rooms in which special activities, especially mortuary rituals, were prominent (Group 2 rooms) and rooms used as domestic/workshop spaces (Group 1 and 3 rooms). Figure 71 shows the distribution of room types across zones and Table 17 shows a breakdown of the rooms into the two overall groups identified in this analysis.

Figure 70: Map of Conchopata showing distribution of room types across zones*

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002

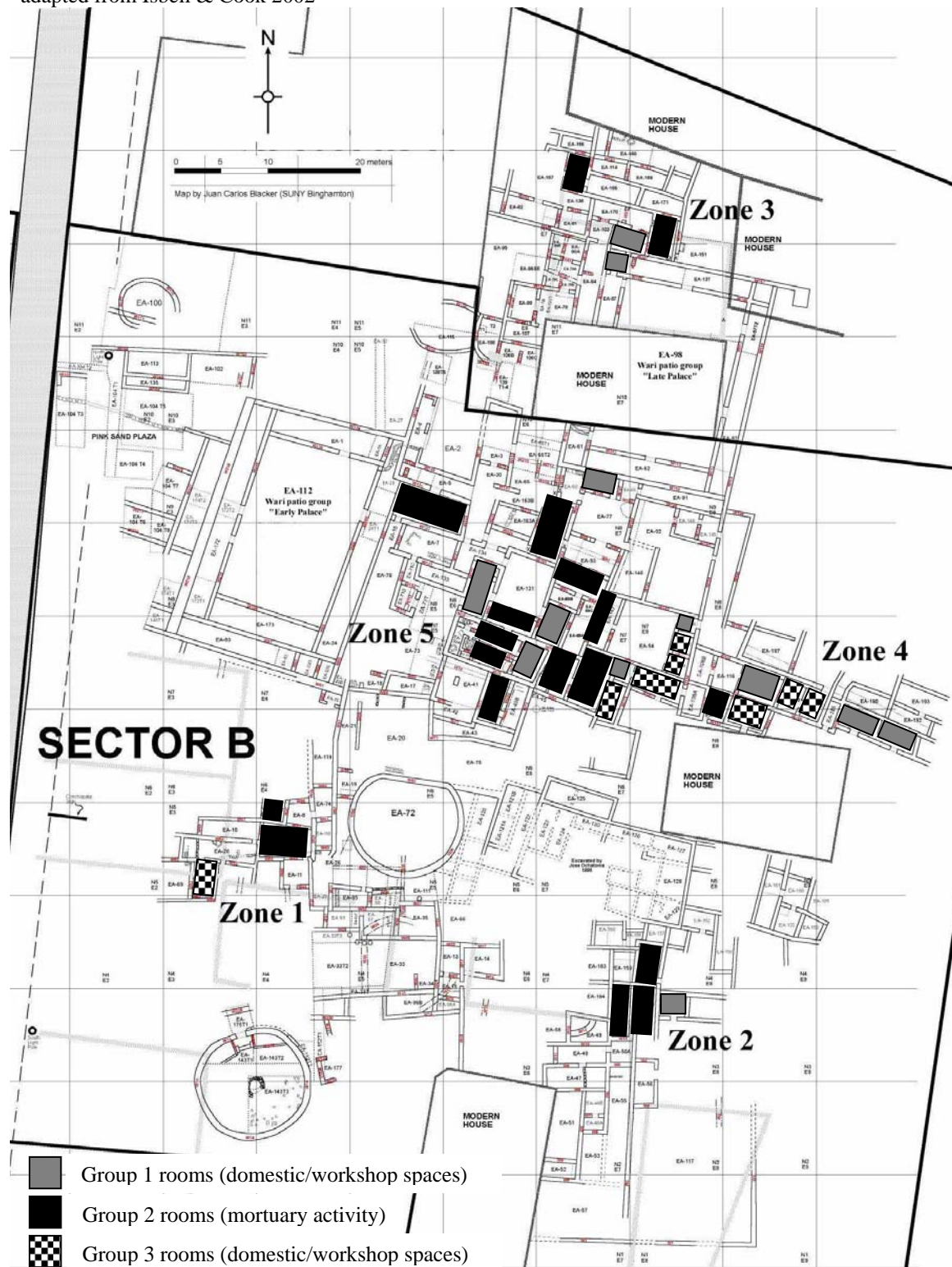


Table 17: Two main types of rooms at Conchopata

Zone	Group 2 rooms (rooms in which mortuary activity was prominent)	Group 1 and 3 rooms (domestic/workshop spaces)	
		Group 1	Group 3
1	EA-9 EA-187		EA-12
2	EA-153 EA-178 EA-179	EA-180	
3	EA-138 EA-154	EA-109 EA-110	
4	EA-150	EA-148 EA-189 EA-191	EA-149 EA-181 EA-182
5	EA-6 EA-31 EA-39 EA-40A EA-44A EA-44B EA-64 EA-88 EA-105 EA-147	EA-36 EA-59 EA-90 EA-132 EA-142 EA-196	EA-140 EA-141 EA-194 EA-195

In addition to features identified in Chapter 4, Group 1 and 3 rooms are interpreted as domestic/workshop spaces where activities involving food preparation, storage, and craft production were carried out. However, the presence of musical instruments, camelid offerings, greenstone, and beads in a few of these domestic/workshop spaces may be evidence for private household rituals. Domestic/workshop spaces were present in all zones.

In addition to features identified in Chapter 4, Group 2 rooms are interpreted as rooms in which special activities occurred. Mortuary activity was prominent in Group 2 rooms based on the presence of offering holes, luxury items, and burials. However, other types of special activities occurred in these rooms relating to dedicatory rituals and small-scale feasting. At

Conchopata, activities associated with mortuary ritual took place within the domestic realm and is reflected in the presence of Group 2 rooms in close proximity to domestic/workshop spaces (Group 1 and 3 rooms). Some of these ceremonies and rituals were probably associated with ancestor veneration. Special activity/mortuary rooms were present in all zones.

The zone analysis (see Chapter 6) identified the highest percentages of high-status Wari blackwares in Zone 4 (8.3%) and Zone 5 (5.7%). The room analysis found that on average Group 2 rooms have the highest proportions of Wari blackware ceramics. Of the five rooms that have ceramic assemblages with over 5% Wari blackwares in above-floor fill, all were Group 2 rooms; three were found in Zone 5, one in Zone 4, and one in Zone 3.

Ceramic assemblages that consist of over 60% single serving sized bowls indicate large-scale feasting was probably an important activity (Cook & Glowacki 2003). Though none of the zones produced ceramic assemblages with over 60% serving vessels, the highest percentages of single serving sized vessels were in Zone 1 (50.4%) and Zone 2 (47.8%). The room analysis found that on average, domestic/workshop spaces (Group 3 rooms) had the highest proportions of Wari blackware ceramics. Of the five rooms with ceramic assemblages of over 60% serving vessels, two were Group 2 rooms and three were domestic/workshop spaces (Group 1 and 3 rooms). Four of these rooms were part of the EA-54 household located in Zone 5. The room with the highest percentage of single serving sized vessels was EA-138, a Group 2 room located in Zone 3.

Zones 2 and 3 had the highest percentages of mini-vessels (1.6% and 6.1% respectively). Mini-vessels were mainly found in below-floor contexts such as tombs and offering contexts. The room analysis found that ceramic assemblages with the highest percentages of miniature ceramic vessels in below-floor contexts were mainly found in Group 2 rooms. EA-110, a Group

2 room located in Zone 3, had the highest overall percentage of miniature ceramic vessels. Six of the eight rooms whose ceramic assemblages consist of more than 4% mini-vessels in below-floor contexts were Group 2 rooms; two were located in Zone 2, one each in Zones 3 and 4, and four in Zone 5.

Finally, Zones 4 and 5 had the highest percentage of jars (46.4% in both). Jars were used for storage and *chicha* preparation, and ceramic assemblages with a large proportion of jars were probably domestic in nature. The room analysis found that ceramic assemblages with the highest percentages of jars were mainly found in domestic/workshop spaces (Group 1 rooms). Of the 11 rooms in which jars made up over 50% of ceramic assemblages, seven were domestic/workshop spaces (six are Group 1 rooms and one is a Group 3 room); these rooms were found in Zones 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Artifacts and features generally found in Group 2 rooms include burials, benches that served as capstones, offering holes, musical instruments, animal offerings, greenstone, beads, and relatively high proportions of Wari blackware ceramics and miniature vessels. Based on the presence of these artifacts and features, Group 2 rooms are interpreted as rooms where special activity was carried out, especially involving mortuary rituals. Mortuary activity, some related to ancestor veneration, occurred within the domestic realm based on the presence of Group 2 rooms in close proximity to domestic/workshop spaces.

Artifacts and features generally found in Group 1 and 3 rooms include benches that probably served as work or sleeping surfaces, hearths, spindle whorls, and relatively high proportions of jars. Based on the presence of these artifacts and features, Group 1 and 3 rooms are interpreted as domestic/workshop spaces where food preparation, storage, and craft production were prominent activities. However, the presence of musical instruments, camelid

offerings, greenstone, beads, and relatively high percentages of serving vessels in some of the domestic/workshop spaces indicates that special activities occurred at the household level that may not have been related to mortuary ceremony and ritual.

In summary, both mortuary rooms (Group 2 rooms) and domestic/workshop spaces (Group 1 and 3 rooms) were represented in each of the five zones investigated. The zone analysis (see Chapter 6) did not find very meaningful differences in ceramic assemblages across zones. However, Zones 4 and 5 are specifically interpreted as high-status residential zones and Zone 3 was likely a high-status residential zone because of its proximity to a Wari patio group/palace. Thus, the presence of mortuary rooms and domestic spaces in all zones combined with a similarity in ceramic assemblages across zones suggest that there was very little difference in status among households across zones, and that all of the households were of high-status.

8. BURIAL ANALYSIS

Two types of analysis were conducted using burials. In the first type, a multidimensional scaling analysis was carried out to identify patterns within the burial population. In the second type of analysis, burials were compared across zones in terms of proportions of artifact types and presence/absence of features. This analysis sought to distinguish status differences in burial treatments. Burials were compared in terms of other types of variables that were not used in the multidimensional scaling analysis and these variables were considered in light of the results obtained from the multidimensional scaling analysis and across zones. Data pertaining to age, sex, and MNI, are also considered. Human skeletal remains were analyzed by Lichtenfeld (2002) and Tung (2002). In this dataset, 31 burial contexts were evaluated along 15 variables.

8.1. Problems with this analysis

Because much of the Conchopata archaeological site has been looted or disturbed by modern construction activity, some of the burial contexts were pooled. For example, EA-39, EA-44B, EA-110 and EA-138 were heavily looted and/or disturbed and all the artifacts from all contexts from these rooms were pooled. Burial contexts pooled in this manner are indicated by a burial number beginning with “P.” Some reconstructed and/or partially reconstructed ceramic vessels consisted of multiple fragments that came from several different loci within the rooms and/or different rooms. For example, fragments of a single ceramic vessel were found in both EA-110 and EA-138. Some burials consisted of several loci, and the artifacts from the loci representing a specific burial were pooled. Burials treated in this fashion included those located in EA-9, EA-31, EA-64, EA-150, EA-153, EA-178, and EA-179.

Though human remains were found in EA-187, this room was excluded from this analysis because it is unclear whether this room actually contained deliberate burials. The human remains found in EA-187 were located within centimeters of the present-day ground surface. Likewise, though EA-37 contained human remains, it was excluded from this analysis because it was heavily disturbed and yielded very few artifacts. EA-44A was also excluded because despite human skeletal remains found in below-floor pits, the fieldnotes were incomplete and/or missing and there was not enough information about the characteristics of these burials to include them in this analysis.

8.2. Results of Multidimensional Scaling Analysis of Individual Burials

A multidimensional scaling analysis of three dimensions was conducted to determine similarities between burials at Conchopata. Dimensions 1 and 2 as well as Dimensions 1 and 3 both produced interpretable but similar patterns. Therefore, only the patterns produced by Dimensions 1 and 2 will be discussed, and only the scatterplots producing discernible patterns will be displayed (see Appendix K for the complete results of the multidimensional scaling analysis). Dimensions 2 and 3 did not produce any obvious patterns.

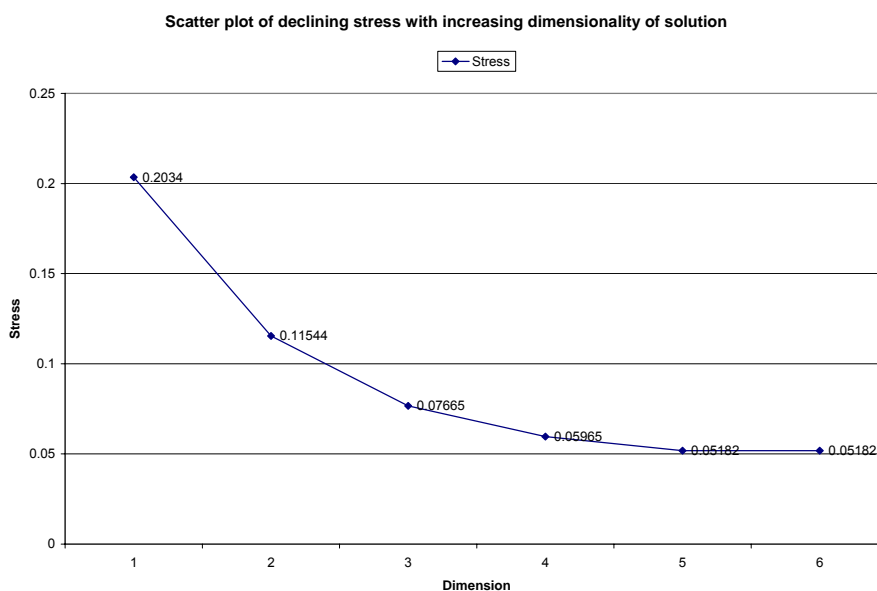
Among the variables used in the multidimensional scaling analysis were several that were expected to be measures of status and/or wealth or special activity. For example, the presence/absence of offering holes or luxury items (*Spondylus* or greenstone) may be a marker of the status or wealth of the deceased(s) and/or specific activities associated with mortuary ceremony and ritual. The 15 variables used in the multidimensional scaling analysis were:

1. Burial location: 1 = located within a bench; 2a = located in a stone-lined tomb beneath a bench; 2b = located in a bedrock tomb beneath a bench; 3 = located beneath an offering house; 4 = located in a bedrock tomb beneath a floor.
2. Minimum number of individuals ("MNI").
3. Percentage of subadults (ages 14 and under).
4. Presence or absence of an offering hole.

5. Presence or absence of small face-neck jars.
6. Presence or absence of Wari blackware ceramics.
7. Presence or absence of gold and/or silver artifacts.
8. Presence or absence of shell adornments.
9. Presence or absence of beads.
10. Presence or absence of *Spondylus*.
11. Presence or absence of greenstone.
12. Presence or absence of copper artifacts.
13. Presence or absence of cinnabar.
14. Presence or absence of miniature ceramic jars.
15. Presence or absence of miniature ceramic urns.

Variables 2 and 3 were coded as interval/ratio variables and variables 1 and 4 thru 15 were coded as nominal/binary variables; thus, a coefficient for mixed variables sets was used to measure similarities between cases in this multidimensional scaling analysis of burials. Points in the scatter plots labeled “M” indicate missing data. Figure 72 depicts the scatter plot of declining stress with increasing dimensionality of solution. In this case, a multidimensional scaling solution of three dimensions, which represents 97.3% of the variance explained, was chosen for analysis and only the results from Dimensions 1 and 2 are discussed.

Figure 71: Scatter plot of declining stress with increasing dimensionality of solution.



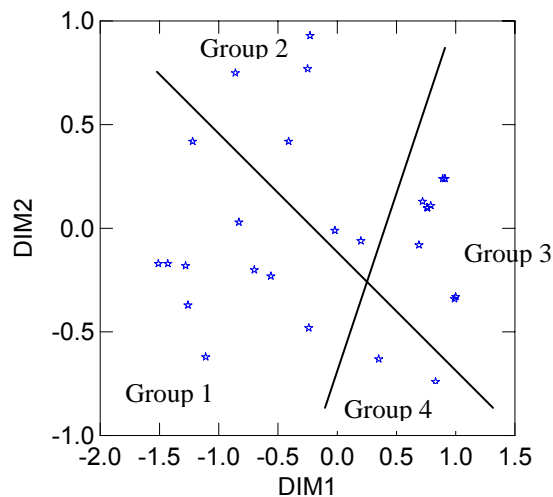
8.2.1. Burial Groups produced by Dimensions 1 and 2

Dimensions 1 and 2 produced four main groups. Table 18 lists the burials within each group and Figure 73 represents scatter plots showing the four groups with the points relabeled with the architectural space number and burial number. In general, Group 1 and 2 burials are similar to each other and Group 3 and 4 burials are similar to each other.

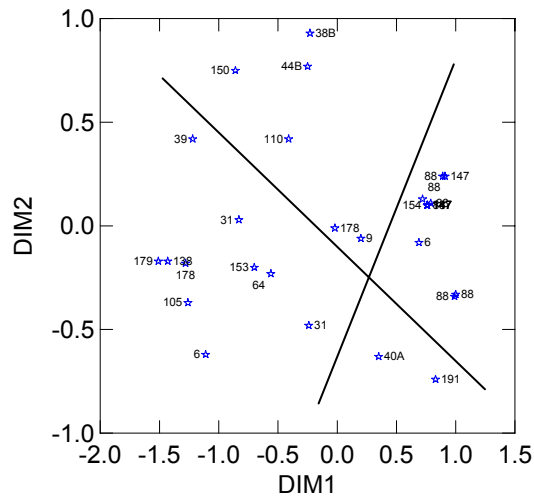
Table 18: Groups produced by Dimensions 1 and 2

Group 1 = 10 burials	Group 2 = 6 burials	Group 3 = 13 burials	Group 4 = 2 burials
EA-6/Burial L2004 EA-31/Burial 9 EA-31/Burial P1 EA-39/Burial P2 EA-64/Burial P3 EA-105/Burial L2095 EA-138/Burial P7 EA-153/Burial P5 EA-178/Burial 95 EA-179/Burial 98	EA-9/Burial 1 EA-38B/Burial ML3 EA-44B/Burial P8 EA-110/Burial P4 EA-150/Burial 94 EA-178/Burial 97	EA-6/Burial 41 EA-88/Burial 54 EA-88/Burial 77 EA-88/Burial 79 EA-88/Burial 82 EA-88/Burial 86 EA-88/Burial 88 EA-147/Burial 42 EA-147/Burial 43 EA-147/Burial 46 EA-147/Burial 48 EA-147/Burial 49 EA-154/Burial 38	EA-40A/Burial 83 EA-191/Burial 102

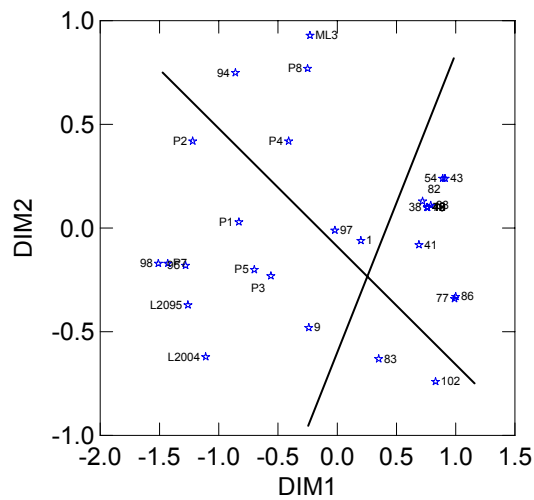
Figure 72: 3 scatterplots of Dimensions 1 and 2 showing burial groups



Architectural space number



Burial number



8.2.2. Scatterplots of Dimensions 1 and 2

Dimensions 1 and 2 produced discernible patterns for the following variables: burial location, MNI, percentage of subadults, and presence/absence of offering hole, Wari blackware ceramics, gold and/or silver, beads, *Spondylus*, greenstone, miniature ceramic jars, and miniature ceramic

Burial location

Table 19 shows the average MNI per group, and Figure 73 shows the total MNI per burial context. Group 1 and 2 burials tend to have more individuals per burial than Groups 3 and 4. Group 1 and 2 burials have comparable average MNIs per burial as do Groups 3 and 4.

Table 19: Average MNI per burial group

Group	Average MNI
1	~13
2	~10
3	~1
4	~3

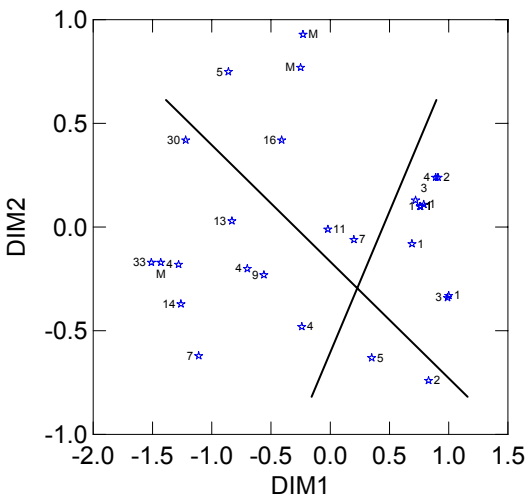
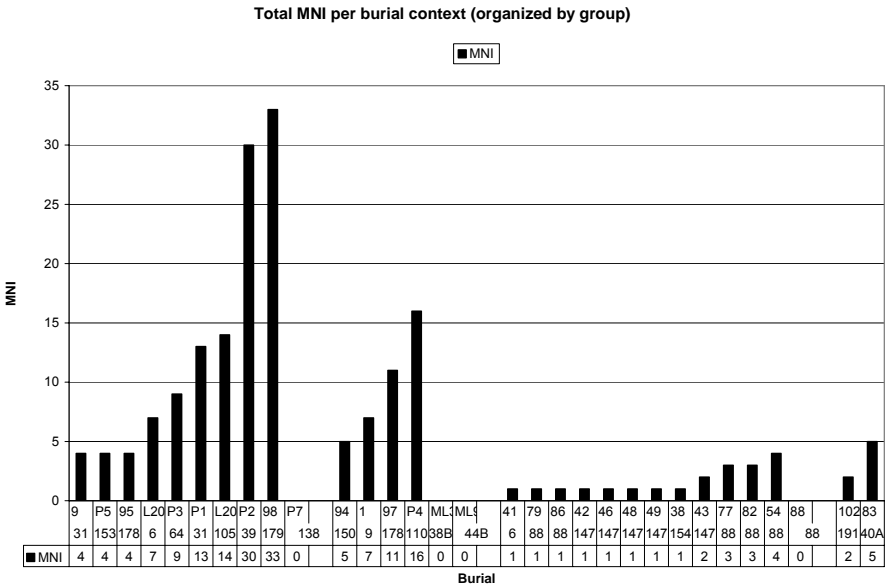


Figure 73: Total MNI per burial context (organized by group)



Percentage of subadults per burial context

Table 20 shows the average percentage of subadults within each burial context per group and Figure 74 shows the percentage of subadults per burial context. Both adults and children are found in burial contexts within Groups 1 and 2. Burials within these two groups also shared comparable average percentages of adults and children. However, what is striking is that the burial contexts in Group 3 contained only subadults and those in Group 4 consisted entirely of adults.

Table 20: Average percentage of subadults within each burial group

Group	Average percentage of subadults
1	52.8%
2	54.6%
3	100%
4	0%

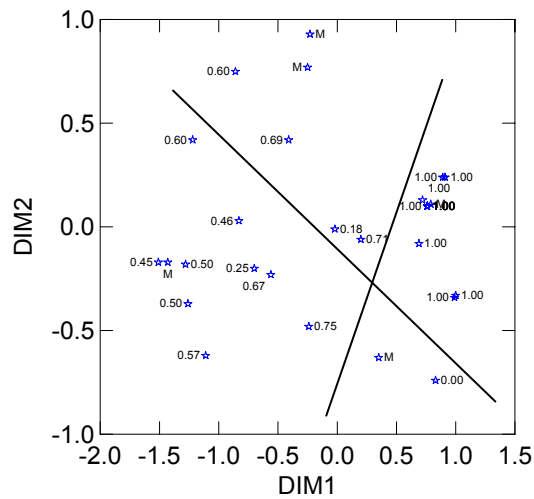
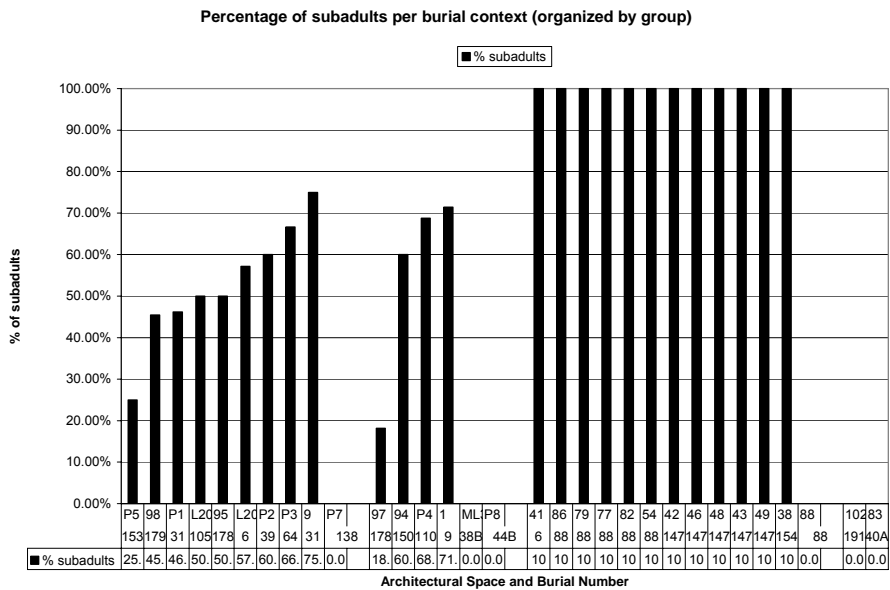


Figure 74: Percentage of subadults per burial context (organized by group)



Presence/absence of offering hole

Burials in Groups 1 and 2 had offering holes associated with tombs but burial contexts in Groups 3 and 4 did not (see Figure 75).

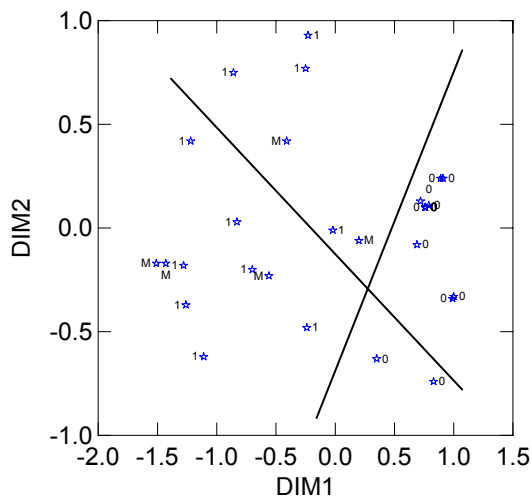
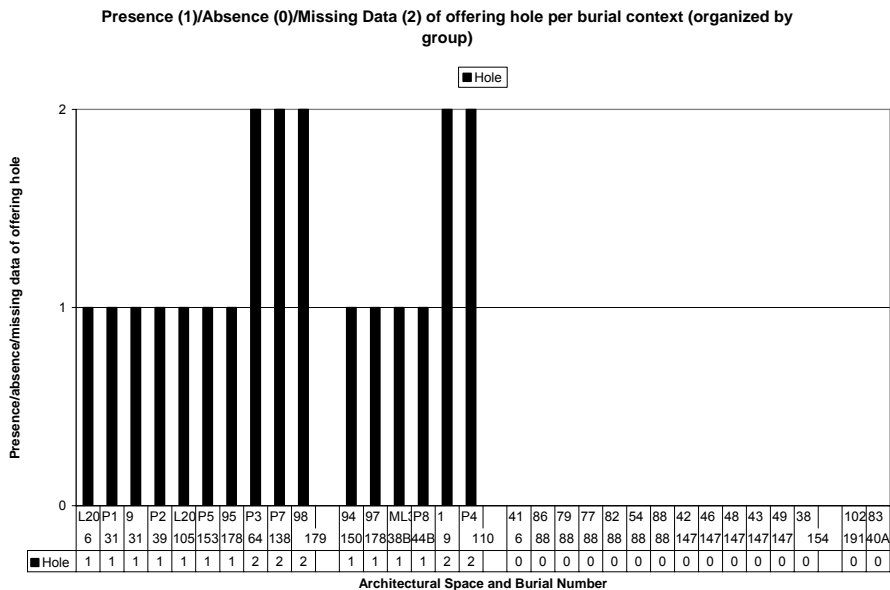


Figure 75: Presence/absence of offering hole per burial context



Presence/absence of Wari blackware styled ceramics

All burial contexts in Group 1 contained Wari blackware ceramics (see Figure 76). One of the burials in Group 4 also had Wari blackware ceramics. However, Wari blackware ceramics were not found in burials in Groups 2 and 3.

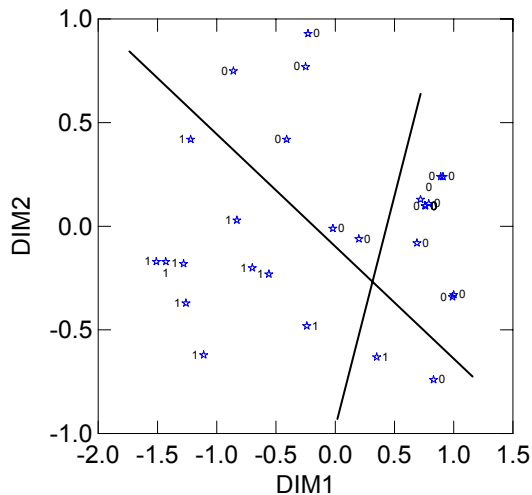
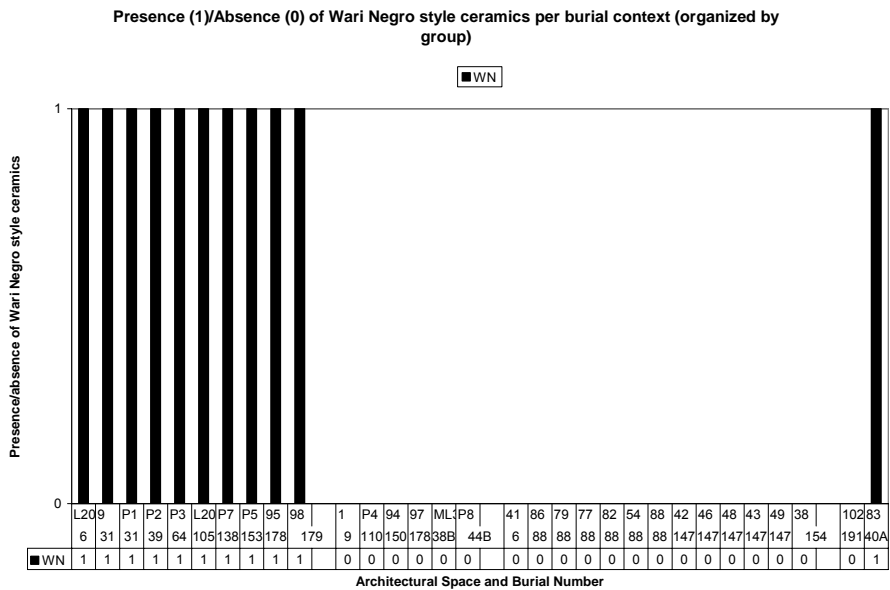


Figure 76: Presence/absence of Wari Negro ceramics per burial context



Presence/absence of gold and/or silver artifacts

Gold and silver artifacts are rare at Conchopata. Only four burial contexts contained these precious metals. Three of these burial contexts are in Group 1 and one is in Group 2 (see Figure 77).

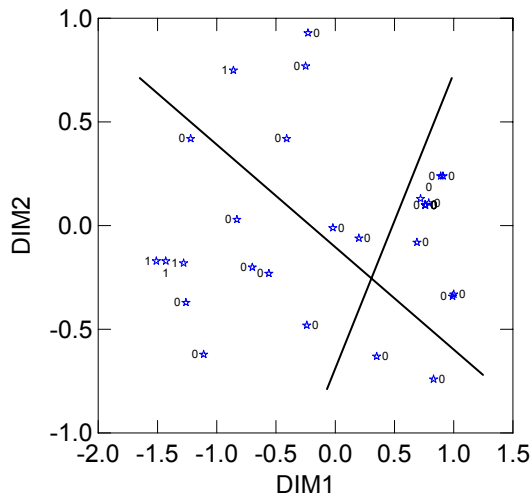
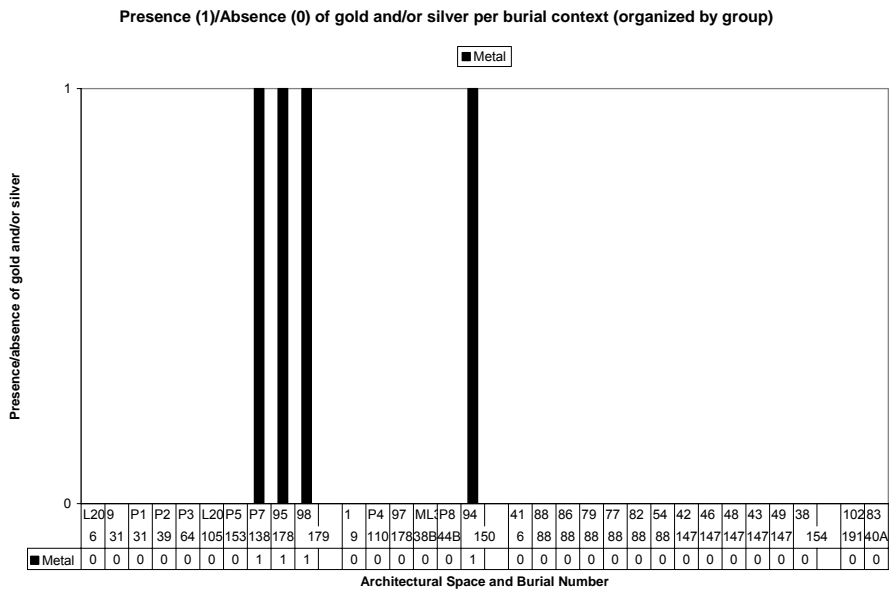


Figure 77: Presence/absence of gold and/or silver per burial context



Presence/absence of beads

■ Beads

Architectural Space and Burial Number	Beads
P1 9	0
P3 31	0
P5 64	0
P5 L20 153	0
P2 39	1
L20 105	1
P7 138	1
95 178	1
98 179	1
1 9	0
97 178	0
ML 38B	0
P8 44B	0
P4 110	1
94 150	1
41 6	0
86 88	0
79 88	0
77 88	0
82 88	0
54 88	0
88 88	0
42 147	0
46 147	0
48 147	0
43 147	0
49 147	0
38 154	0
102 191	0
83 40A	0

Architectural Space and Burial Number

Spondylus was found in Group 1 and 2 burial contexts (see Figure 79). However, it was not found in burials in Groups 3 or 4.

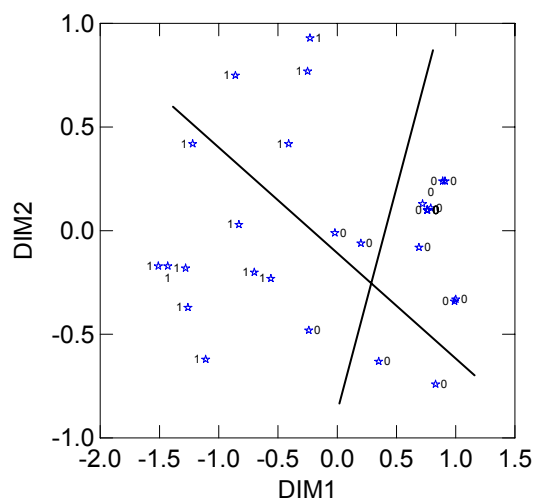
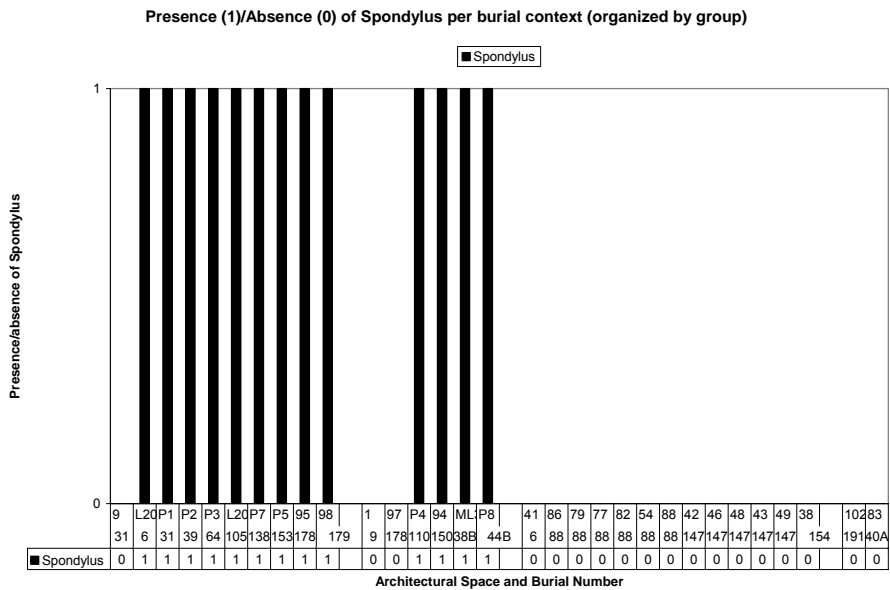


Figure 79: Presence/absence of Spondylus per burial context



Presence/absence of greenstone

Greenstone was mainly found in burials in Groups 1 and 2, though one burial in Group 4 also had greenstone (see Figure 80). None was recovered from Group 3 burials.

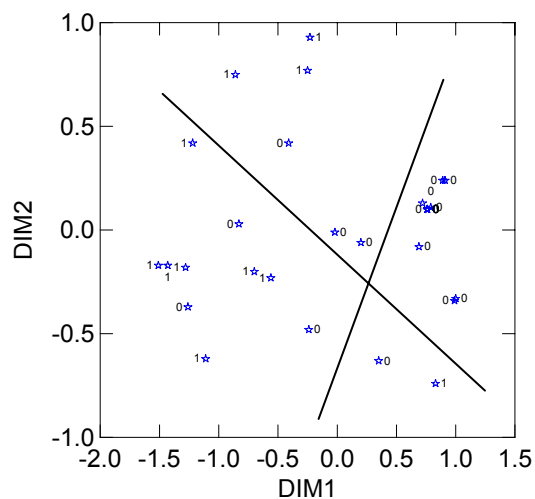
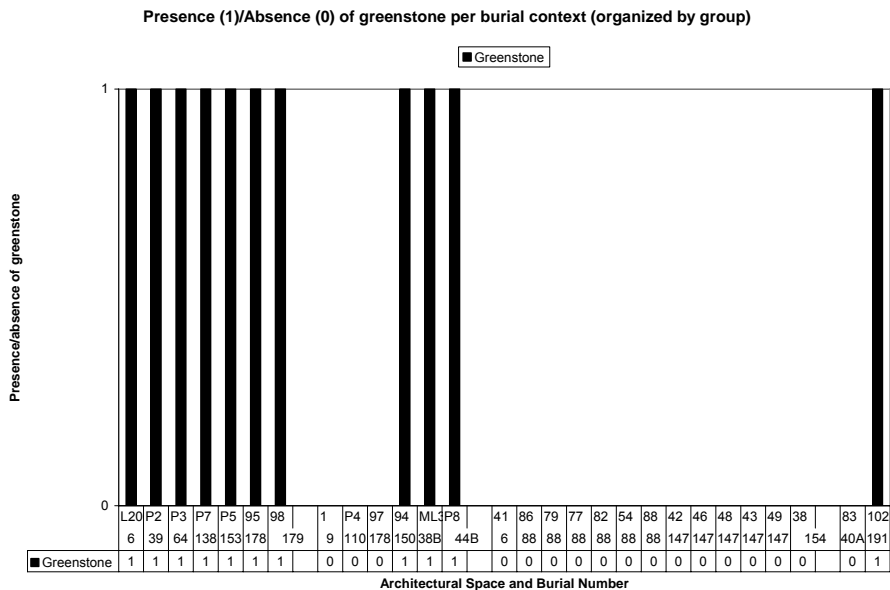


Figure 80: Presence/absence of greenstone per burial context



Presence/absence of miniature ceramic jars

Though one or two burial contexts had miniature ceramic jars in Groups 2, 3, and 4, mini-jars were mainly found in Group 1 burials (see Figure 81).

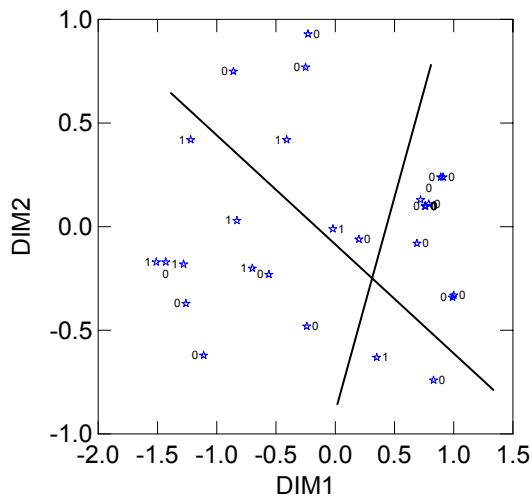
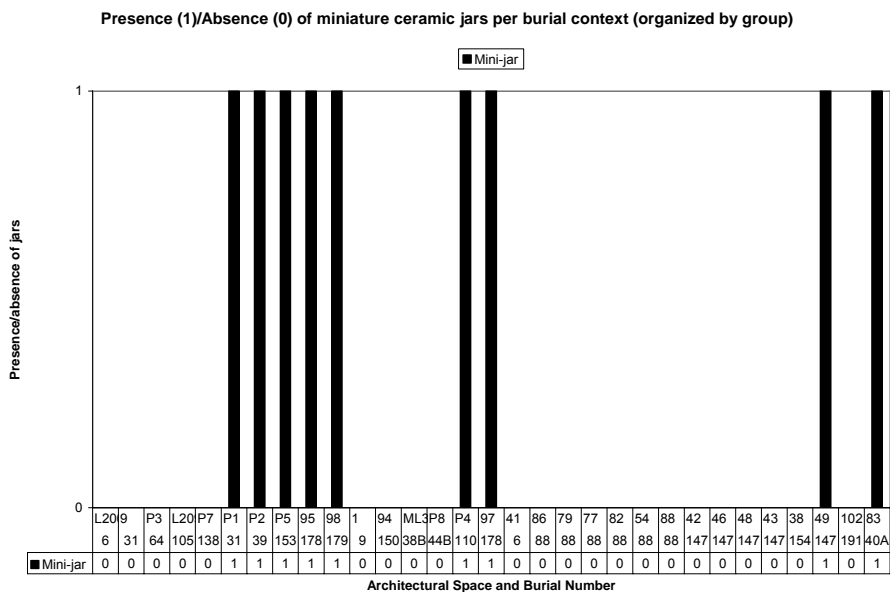


Figure 81: Presence/absence of miniature ceramic jars per burial context



Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns

Miniature ceramic urns are mainly found in Group 1 burials, though one burial context each in Groups 2 and 3 contained mini-urns (see Figure 82). Group 4 burial contexts did not contain mini-urns.

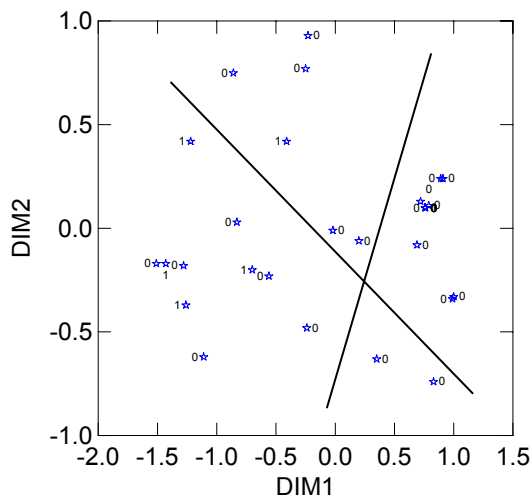
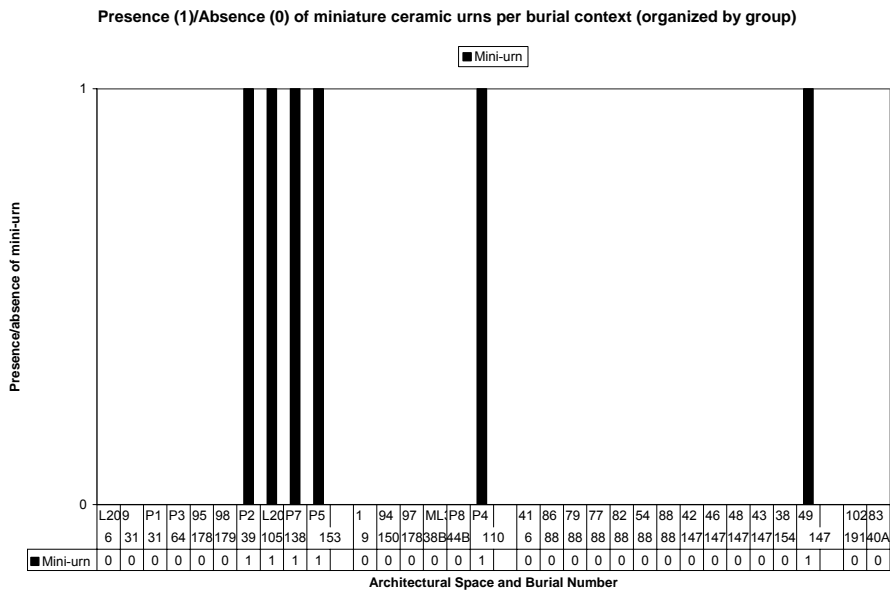


Figure 82: Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns per burial context



8.2.3. Interpretation of Burial Groups Produced by Dimensions 1 and 2

Figure 83 shows the distribution of burial groups across zones. Table 21 gives a broad summary of the patterns present in relevant scatterplots produced by Dimensions 1 and 2. Burial contexts in Groups 1 and 2 were most similar to each other, as were burial contexts in Groups 3 and 4.

*adapted from Isbell & Cook 2002



Table 21: Summary of patterns for each group in Dimensions 1 and 2

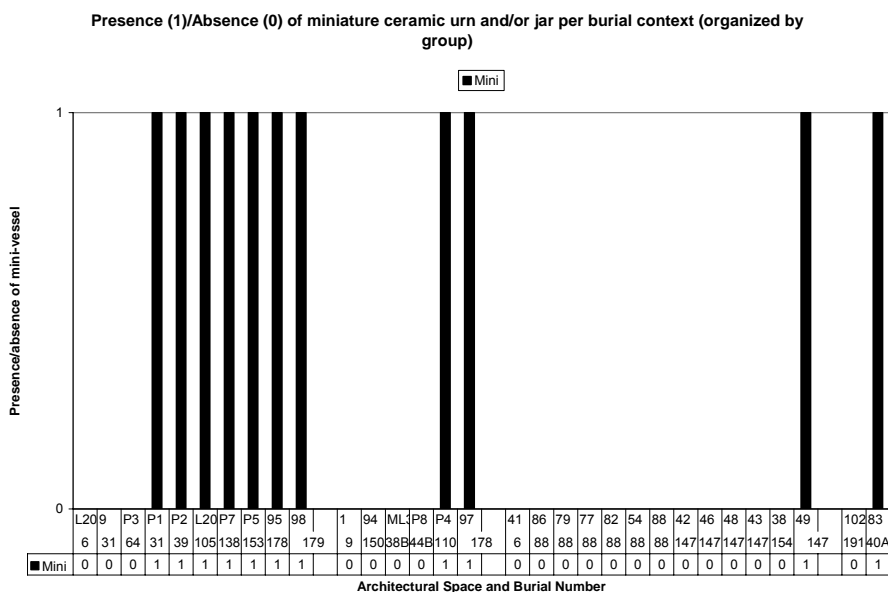
Variable	Group 1 (10 burials)	Group 2 (6 burials)	Group 3 (13 burials)	Group 4 (2 burials)
Burial location	Bedrock tombs beneath benches	Bedrock or stone- lined cist tombs beneath benches or offering houses	Burials within benches	Bedrock tombs beneath floors
MNI	~13	~10	~1	~3
Percentage of subadults	52.8%	54.6%	100%	0%
Presence/absence of offering hole	Present in 100% of burial contexts	Present in 100% of burial contexts	Absent	Absent
Presence/absence of Wari blackware style ceramics	Present in 100% of burial contexts	Absent	Absent	Present in 50% of burial contexts
Presence/absence of gold and/or silver	Present in 30% of burial contexts	Present in 17% of burial contexts	Absent	Absent
Presence/absence of beads	Present in 60% of burial contexts	Present in 33% of burial contexts	Absent	Absent
Presence/absence of <i>Spondylus</i>	Present in 90% of burial contexts	Present in 67% of burial contexts	Absent	Absent
Presence/absence of greenstone	Present in 70% of burial contexts	Present in 50% of burial contexts	Absent	Present in 50% of burial contexts
Presence/absence of mini-jars	Present in 50% of burial contexts	Present in 33% of burial contexts	Present in 8% of burial contexts	Present in 50% of burial contexts
Presence/absence of mini-urns	Present in 40% of burial contexts	Present in 17% of burial contexts	Present in 8% of burial contexts	Absent

Dimensions 1 and 2 reflect differences in burials along the lines of age (broadly, between adults and subadults) and richness/elaboration of burial treatment. Group 1 and Group 2 burials are very similar to each other, and they are interpreted as high-status tombs. High-status tombs

were found in every zone at Conchopata. Both Group 1 and 2 burial contexts consist of multiple individuals of all ages, suggesting that these burials housed family members. Individuals in both groups were buried with luxury items such as gold and/or silver, beads, *Spondylus*, and greenstone. In addition, burial contexts within Groups 1 and 2 contained offering holes. However, although all burial contexts in both groups contained offering holes, some burial contexts (e.g., EA-39 and EA-138) had several tombs but not all of them had offering holes.

There are two main differences between Group 1 and 2 burials. One difference is the presence of Wari blackware ceramics. This high-status, state ware was found in Group 1 burials but not in Group 2 burials. The second difference is the presence of miniature ceramic vessels. Though mini-jars and mini-urns are represented in both groups, they are more prevalent in Group 1 burials (see Figure 84).

Figure 84: Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns and/or jars per burial context



Group 3 and Group 4 burials are similar to each other. Burial contexts in these groups consist of 1 to 5 individuals, though the majority had only a single individual. Burials in these

groups lacked the high-status grave goods present in Group 1 and 3 burial contexts such as precious metals, beads, *Spondylus*, and miniature ceramic vessels.

However, Group 3 and Group 4 burials were different from each other in several ways. The most obvious distinction is that Group 3 burials were composed only of children whereas Group 4 burials were composed only of adults. Also, although individuals in Groups 3 and 4 were not usually buried with luxury items, Wari blackware ceramics and greenstone were found in Group 4 burials (in EA-40A/Burial 83 and EA-191/Burial 102, respectively). Mini-urns were found in Group 3 and 4 burials (in EA-147/Burial 49 and EA-40A/Burial 83, respectively). Finally, generally only children were buried by themselves. The only example of a burial containing a single adult was EA-191/Burial 102 which contained an intact adult female; however, this burial also contained several bones of at least one other adult.

In summary, this multidimensional scaling analysis found four burial types representing high-status and low-status burials in addition to a special category of infant/child burials. Group 1 and 2 burial contexts represent high-status tombs and Group 4 burials were lower-status. Group 3 burials are unique and represent a special form of burial treatment of children.

Thus, Group 1 burials are interpreted as high-status burials since they contained a full range of luxury items in addition to high-status Wari blackware ceramics. Group 1 burials are only found in Zones 2, 3, and 5. Because Group 1 burial contexts contained both adults and children, they probably housed members of the same family. Some of the individuals in these contexts may have been officials of the Wari state, leaders at Conchopata who were given gifts of high-status Wari state ceramic wares, or high-status individuals who had access to Wari blackware ceramics through trade.

Group 2 burials are also interpreted as high-status burials, and they are found in Zones 1, 3, 4, and 5. Like Group 1 burials, Group 2 burials contained a full range of luxury items with the exception of Wari blackware ceramics. Group 2 burials also contained both adults and children suggesting they housed members of the same family.

Group 3 burials are unique. They consist of infant/child burials located in benches, though one (EA-6/Burial #41) was located beneath a patio floor. All of the Group 3 burials, except one were located in Zone 5. EA-154/Burial #38 was located in Zone 3. Of the 13 burials represented in this group, six came from EA-88 and five from EA-147. EA-88 abutted EA-147, and both of these rooms had similar layouts with benches against the north and south walls, and burials placed in the bench along the south wall.

Finally, Group 4 burials are interpreted as lower-status burials. Individuals in these burials were not usually buried with luxury goods, though EA-40A/Burial 83 had Wari blackware ceramics and EA-191/Burial 102 had greenstone. These burials were not associated with offering holes. The fact that burials in Group 4 only held the remains of adults suggests that only certain individuals among the lower-statuses were buried beneath floors. Perhaps these individuals were kept close to or within the residential unit because they were considered important ancestors.

8.3. Artifact Analysis of Burials

A few variables included in the above multidimensional scaling analysis are considered in greater detail here. In addition, several variables not included in the above analysis are also evaluated. The goal was to identify burial patterns across zones. Table 22 lists the architectural spaces included in this analysis by zone. Where possible, EA-39 was broken down into its

individual burial contexts (EA-39A, EA-39B, EA-39C, EA-39D/L2069, EA-39D/Wchamber, EA-39D-Echamber).

Table 22: Distribution of architectural spaces with burials by zone

Zone	Architectural Space
1	EA-9
2	EA-153, EA-178, EA-179
3	EA-110, EA-138, EA-154
4	EA-150, EA-191
5	EA-6, EA-31, EA-38B, EA-39, EA-40A, EA-44B, EA-64, EA-88, EA-105, EA-147

8.3.1. Sex, MNI and Age

8.3.1.1. Sex

At Conchopata, based on the recovered human skeletal remains, the overall ratio of females to males was about 2:1, with 62% of sexed adults being female compared to 38% male (Tung 2003:124). Though a few tombs contained only the remains of males (EA-44B) or females (EA-150, perhaps EA-31/Burial 9), for the most part males and females were buried together.

8.3.1.2. MNI

Figure 85 shows the total MNI of all burial contexts within each room (from lowest to highest and organized by zone). The two architectural spaces with the highest MNI were mortuary rooms, one located in Zone 2 (EA-179) and one in Zone 5 (EA-39). EA-39 contained several sub-floor tombs and was the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex "B." EA-179 had a large, sub-floor, bedrock tomb. Burials in EA-88, EA-147, and EA-154 consisted entirely of children and infants. Burials in EA-40A, EA-44B, and EA-191 only had adults. Burials in all the other rooms had both adults and infants/children.

Figure 85: Total MNI per architectural space

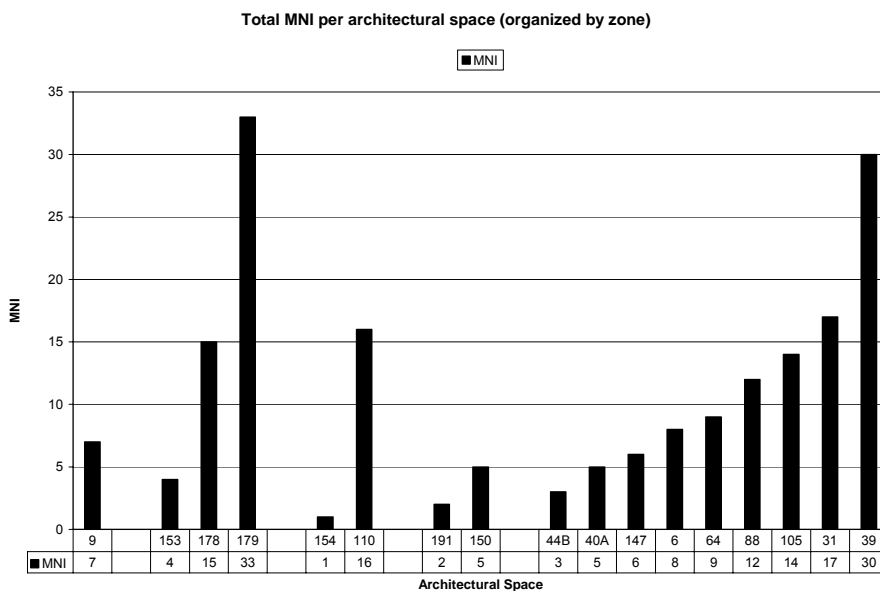
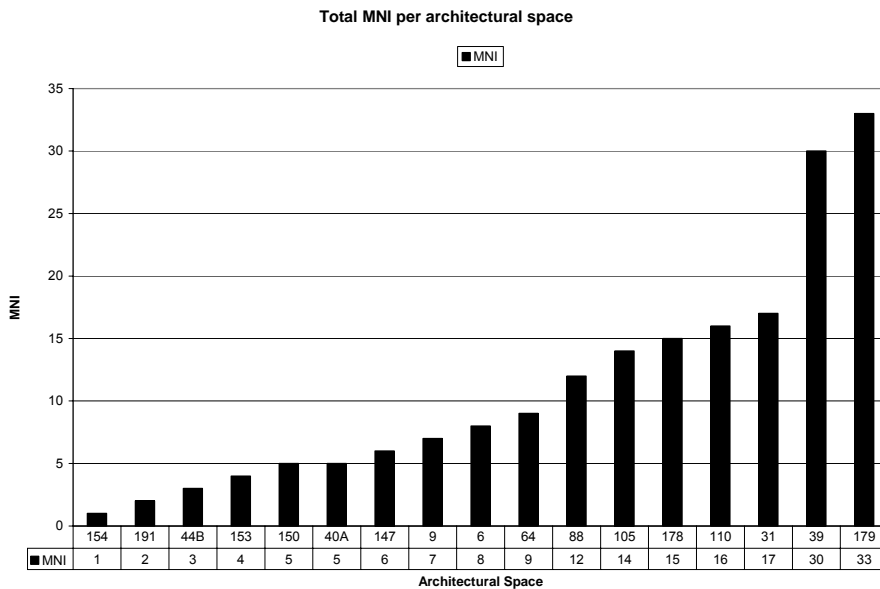
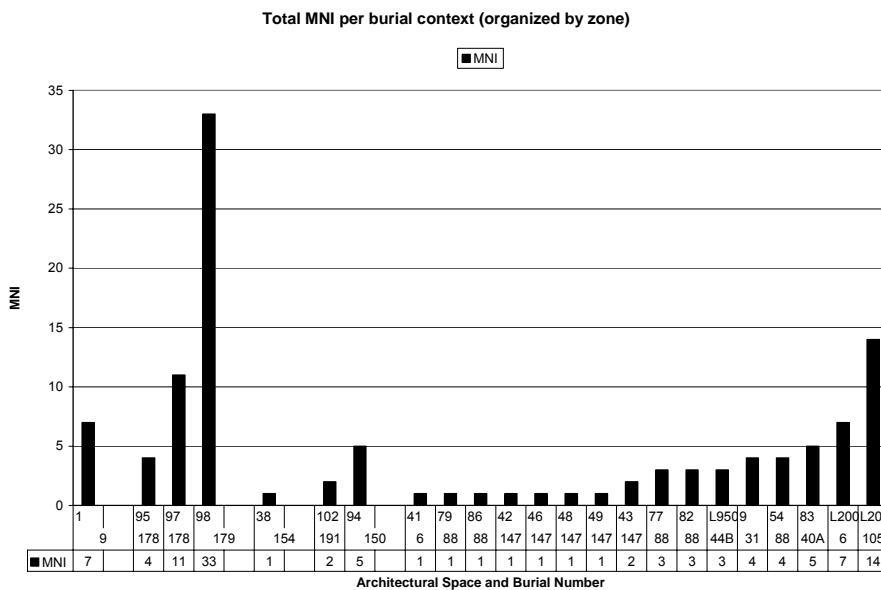
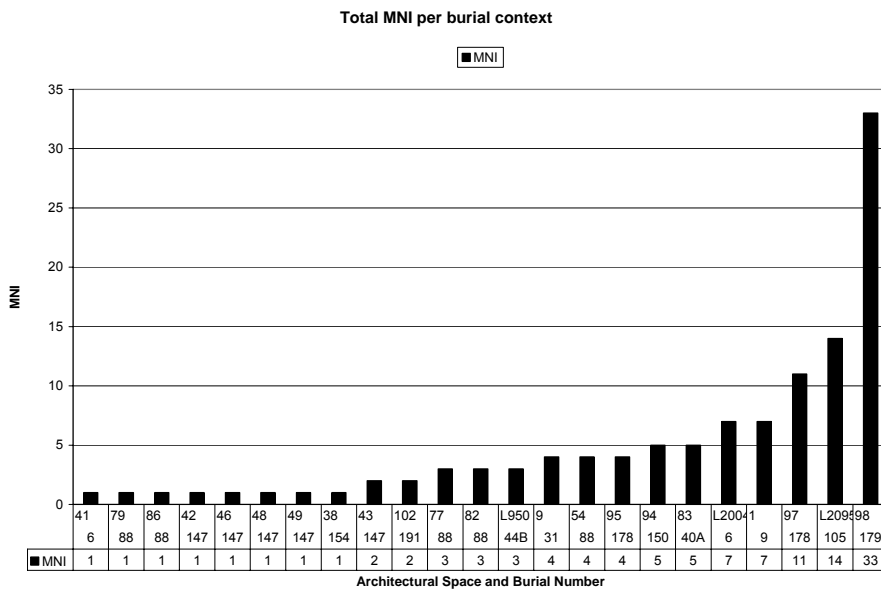


Figure 86 shows the total MNI per burial organized by zone. Only those burials with known MNI counts per burial are included. For example, EA-39 and EA-64 were not included because the MNI was pooled for all burial contexts due to mixed contexts within these rooms.

Of the tombs with five or more individuals, four were in rooms devoted to mortuary activity (EA-105, EA-150, EA-178, and EA-179), two were located in open patios (EA-6 and EA-9), and one was in a sealed context beneath a residential floor (EA-40A).

Figure 86: Total MNI per burial context



8.3.1.3. Age

Figure 87 shows the percentage of adults per burial context; some burial contexts represent pooled data (EA-31/P1, EA-39/P2, EA-64/P3, EA-110/P4, and EA-153/P5). EA-6, EA-88, EA-147 and EA-154 were infant/child burials.

Figure 87: Percentage of adults per burial context or room

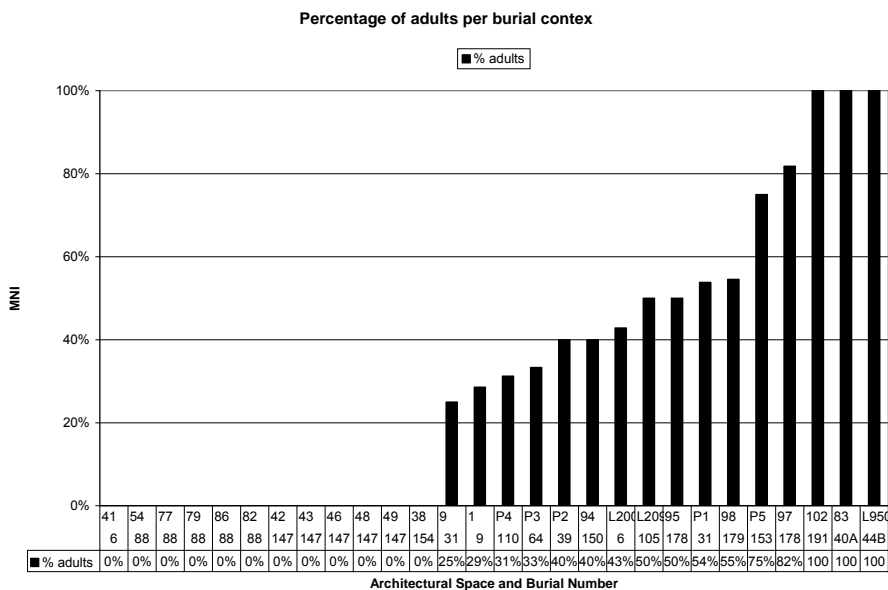
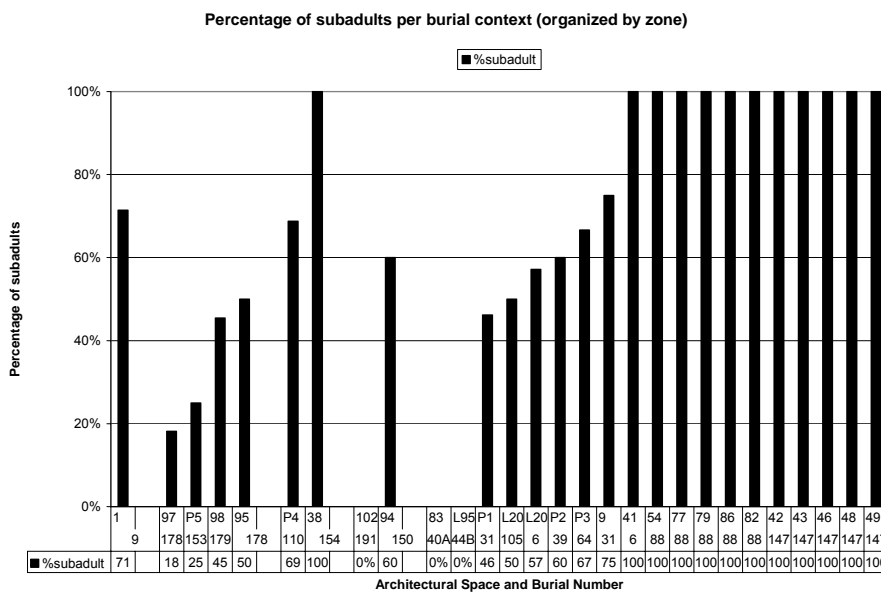
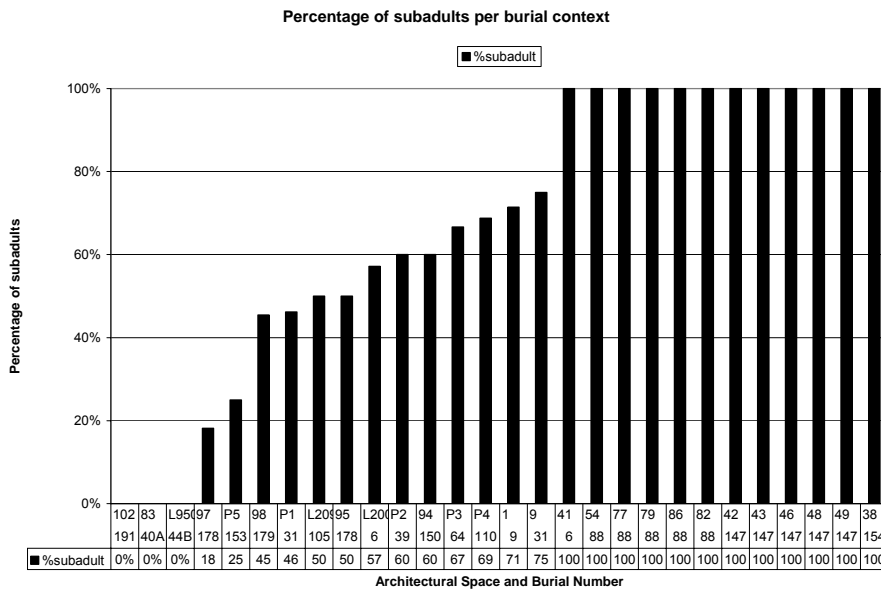


Figure 88 shows the percentage of subadults per burial context and the percentage of subadults per burial context organized by zone. Most of the burial contexts that contained only infants/children were located in Zone 5 with the single exception of EA-154/Burial 38 in Zone 3.

Figure 88: Percentage of subadults per burial context

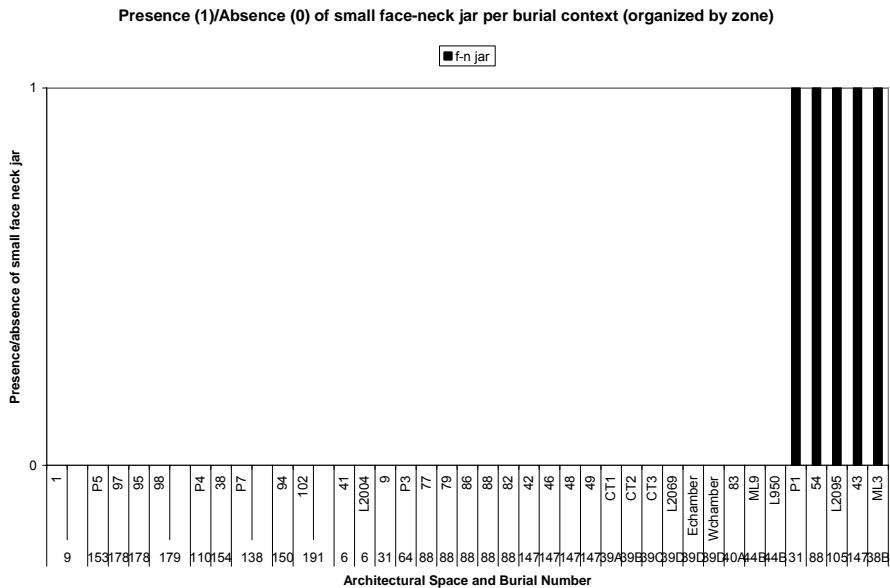


8.3.2. Ceramics

Small face-neck jars

Figure 89 shows the presence/absence of small face-neck jars per burial context; this does not include face-neck jars in the Wari blackware style. The only rooms that had burials with small face-neck jars were located in Zone 5.

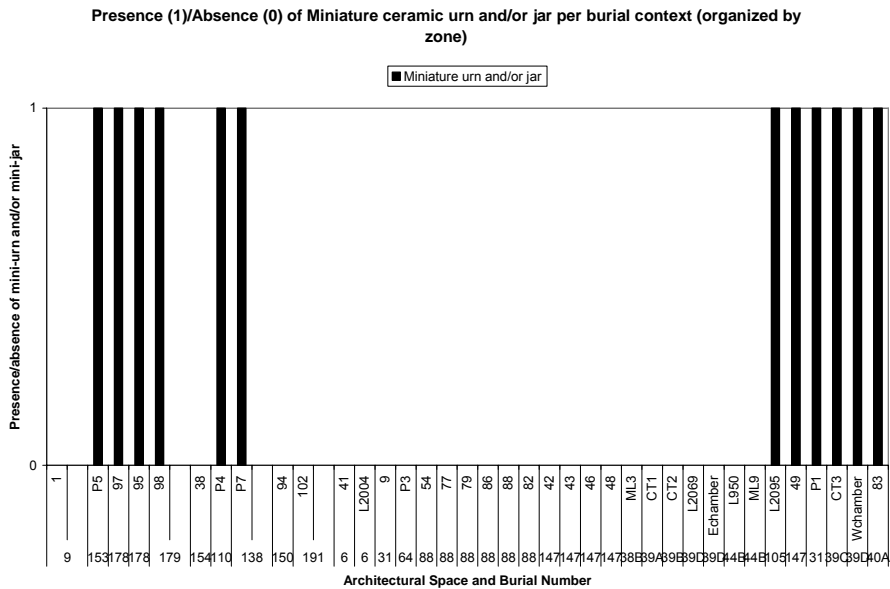
Figure 89: Presence/absence of small face-neck jars per burial context (organized by zone), not including Wari blackware face-neck jars



Miniature ceramic vessels

Overall, miniature ceramic vessels, specifically mini-urns and mini-jars, were important in ceremony and ritual associated with burials in Zones 2, 3, and 5 (see Figure 90).

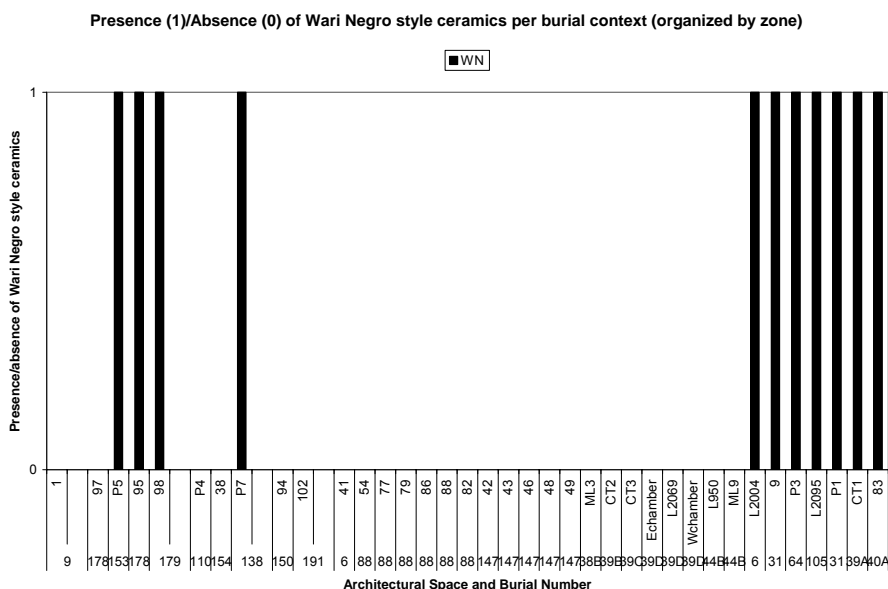
Figure 90: Presence/absence of miniature ceramic jars and/or urns per burial context (organized by zone)



Wari blackware ceramic vessels

Figure 91 shows the presence/absence of Wari blackware ceramics per burial context. Burials that included Wari blackware ceramics as part of their grave goods were mainly located in Zones 2 and 5, with one exception in Zone 3 (EA-138). Wari blackware style ceramics were not included as grave goods in burials that contained only infants/children.

Figure 91: Presence/absence of Wari blackware style ceramics per burial context (organized by zone)



8.3.3. Luxury items

Gold/silver

Figure 92 shows the presence/absence of gold and/or silver per burial context. The only burials that contained gold were located in rooms in Zone 3 (EA-138) and Zone 4 (EA-150). The only burials that contained silver objects were located in rooms in Zone 2 (EA-178 and EA-179) and Zone 4 (EA-150). Burials that only included infants/children did not have gold or silver among their grave offerings.

Presence (1)/Absence (0) of gold and/or silver per burial context (organized by zone)

Legend: Metal

Architectural Space and Burial Number	Presence/Absence of gold and/or silver
9	0
P5	0
153	0
97	0
178	1
95	1
179	1
98	1
P4	0
110	0
154	0
38	0
P7	1
138	1
191	0
102	0
94	1
150	1
41	0
L2004	0
6	0
9	0
P3	0
64	0
54	0
88	0
77	0
88	0
79	0
86	0
88	0
88	0
82	0
L2095	0
105	0
147	0
42	0
147	0
43	0
46	0
48	0
49	0
P1	0
ML3	0
CT1	0
CT2	0
CT3	0
Echamber	0
L2069	0
Wchamber	0
83	0
L350	0
ML9	0

Figure 93 shows the presence/absence of beads per burial context. Beads were found in tombs in all zones, except Zone 1. However, burials that contained only infants/children did not have beads as part of their grave goods.

Spondylus

Figure 94 shows the presence/absence of *Spondylus* per burial context. *Spondylus* was a grave good commonly found in high-status tombs. It was not found in burials that contained only infants/children. This exotic item was found in burials in all zones, except Zone 1. It was usually carved into a wedge shape or made into beads.

Figure 94: Presence/absence of *Spondylus* per burial context (organized by zone)

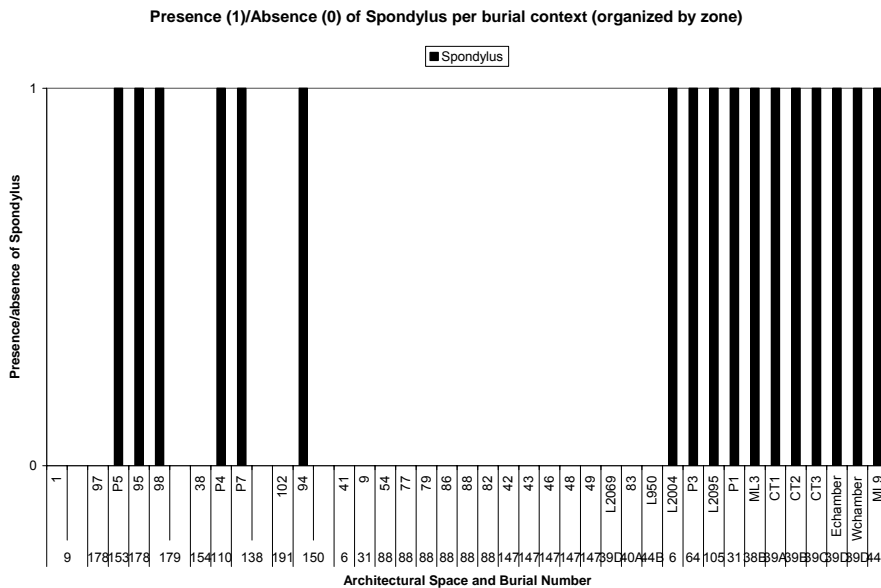
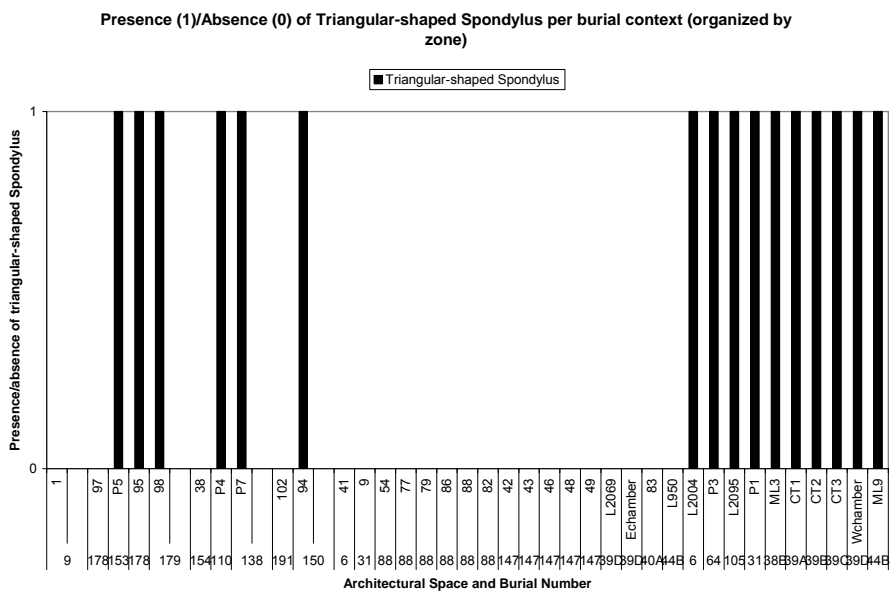


Figure 95 shows the presence/absence of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* per burial context. This artifact type was found in burials in all zones, except Zone 1. Of the 16 burial contexts that contained wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, nine were associated with offering holes (EA-6, EA-31, EA-39, EA-105, EA-153, EA-178, EA-38B, EA-44B, and EA-150). Of the remaining burial contexts, six (EA-39A, EA-39B, EA-64, EA-110, EA-138, and EA-179) were so disturbed that it was impossible to know if they originally had offering holes or not. Because wedge-shaped *Spondylus* is so closely associated with tombs that have offering holes, it is likely that these six disturbed burial contexts had offering holes. The only burial that contained wedge-shaped *Spondylus* but probably did not have an offering hole associated with it was EA-39D/Wchamber.

Of the burial contexts that did not have wedge-shaped *Spondylus* as part of their grave goods, none had offering holes. Thus, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* figured prominently in the types of offerings periodically made to tomb occupants who could be accessed through offering holes.

Figure 95: Presence/absence of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* per burial context (organized by zone)



Greenstone

Figure 96 shows the presence/absence of greenstone per burial context. It was found in burial contexts in all zones except Zone 1. Greenstone was a grave good commonly found in high-status tombs. It was often carved into tiny geometric shapes or objects such as axes or seashells, or made into beads. It was not found in burial contexts that contained only infants/children.

Copper objects were a common grave good and found in all zones except Zone 1. However, certain types of copper objects were restricted to specific burials. For example, Figure 97 shows the presence/absence of *tupu* artifacts per burial context. *Tupus* were not found in burial contexts that contained only infants/children.

Presence/absence of tupu

1

0

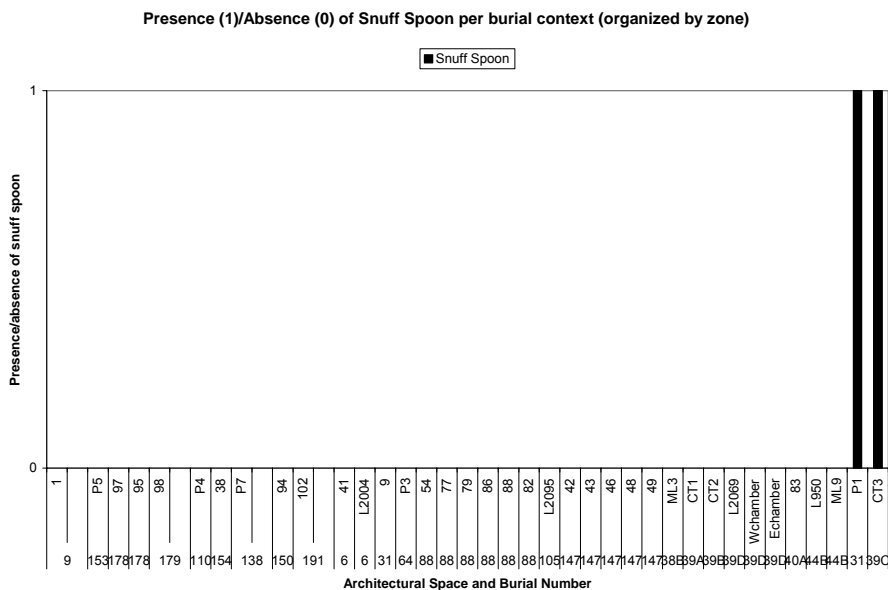
■ Tupu

Architectural Space and Burial Number

Architectural Space and Burial Number	Presence/absence of tupu
1	0
9	0
P5	0
153	0
97	0
78	0
95	0
98	1
179	0
P4	0
110	0
38	0
154	0
P7	1
138	0
94	0
150	0
102	1
191	0
41	0
6	0
L2004	0
P3	0
64	0
88	0
54	0
77	0
88	0
79	0
86	0
88	0
88	0
82	0
147	0
42	0
43	0
147	0
46	0
48	0
49	0
ML3	0
CT2	0
L2069	0
Wchamber	0
93	0
L950	0
ML9	0
44	0
48	0
31	1
9	1
L2095	1
105	1
P1	1
31	1
89	1
CT1	1
89	1
CT3	1
Echamber	1
39	1
40	1
83	1

Figure 98 shows the presence/absence of copper snuff spoons per burial context. These objects are rare and were only found in two rooms, both located in Zone 5. EA-31 was one of the rooms in Mortuary Complex “A” and EA-39 was the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex “B.”

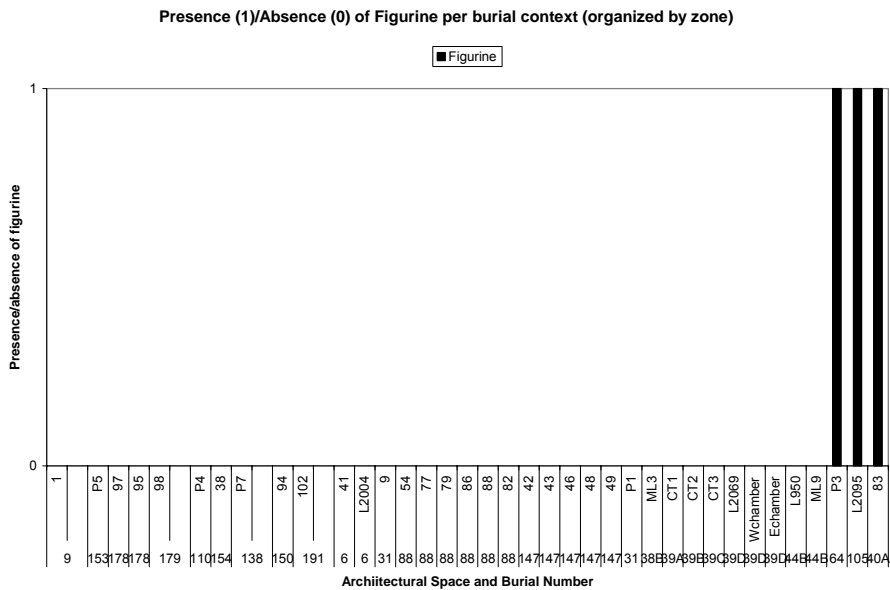
Figure 98: Presence (1)/Absence (0) of "snuff" spoons per burial context (organized by zone)



Figurines

Figure 99 shows the presence/absence of figurines per burial context. Figurines were not common grave goods and were only found in three burial contexts, all located in Zone 5. Figurines were not found in burial contexts that contained only infants/children.

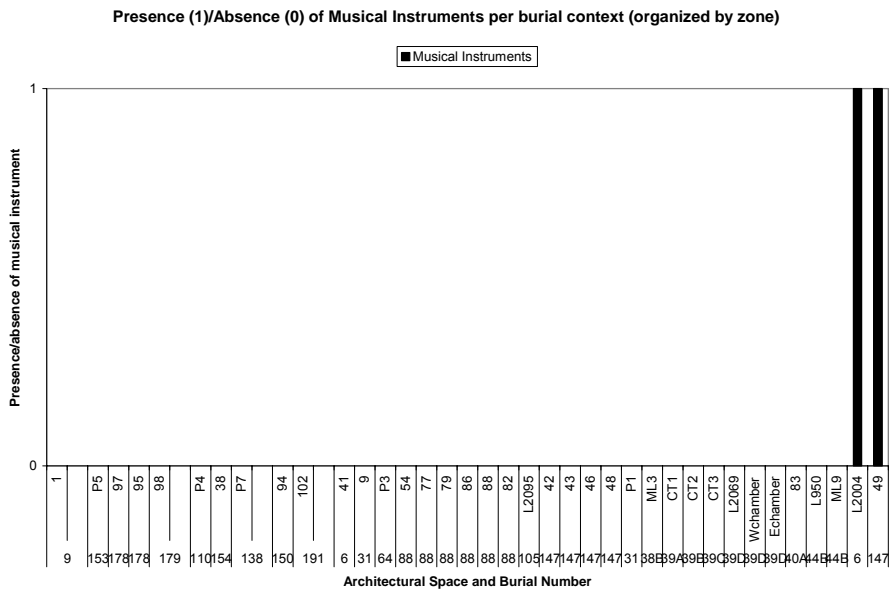
Figure 99: Presence/absence of figurines per burial context (organized by zone)



Musical Instruments

Figure 100 shows the presence/absence of musical instruments per burial context. Musical instruments were not common grave goods and were only found in two burial contexts, both located in Zone 5. EA-147/Burial 49 was an infant/child bench burial that had a whistle among its grave goods. EA-6 was a patio that contained a large bedrock tomb (EA-6/L2004). Of the seven occupants in EA-6/Burial L2004, one was an adolescent, one was a child, and two were infants.

Figure 100: Presence/absence of musical instruments per burial context (organized by zone)



8.4. Discussion and Summary of Burial Analysis

Overall, this multidimensional scaling analysis produced four distinct burial groups (see Table 23). In general, Groups 1 and 2 represent high-status burials. These burial contexts contained high-status grave goods and multiple individuals, including both adults and children. Because these burials contained a wide range of ages, individuals in these tombs were probably members of the same family.

Group 3 burials contained only infants and children, usually buried individually. Infant/child bench burials represent a unique form of burial treatment of children and may represent an appropriate burial method of infants/children from high-status families.

Finally, Group 4 burials represent low-status burials. They contained very few, if any, high-status grave goods. Individuals included in these burials consisted entirely of adults placed in bedrock tombs located in sealed contexts below floors in rooms used as domestic/workshop

spaces. The placement of select individuals beneath residential floors suggests that they were accorded a certain status.

Table 23: The 4 main groups of burials produced by the multidimensional scaling analysis

Group 1 = 10 burials (high-status)	Group 2 = 6 burials (high-status)	Group 3 = 13 burials (infants/children)	Group 4 = 2 burials (low-status)
EA-6/Burial L2004 EA-31/Burial 9 EA-31/Burial P1 EA-39/Burial P2 EA-64/Burial P3 EA-105/Burial L2095 EA-138/Burial P7 EA-153/Burial P5 EA-178/Burial 95 EA-179/Burial 98	EA-9/Burial 1 EA-38B/Burial ML3 EA-44B/Burial P8 EA-110/Burial P4 EA-150/Burial 94 EA-178/Burial 97	EA-6/Burial 41 EA-88/Burial 54 EA-88/Burial 77 EA-88/Burial 79 EA-88/Burial 82 EA-88/Burial 86 EA-88/Burial 88 EA-147/Burial 42 EA-147/Burial 43 EA-147/Burial 46 EA-147/Burial 48 EA-147/Burial 49 EA-154/Burial 38	EA-40A/Burial 83 EA-191/Burial 102

8.4.1. High-status burials

Group 1 and Group 2 represent high-status burials, which were found in every zone at Conchopata. Specifically, Group 1 burials were found in Zones 2, 3 and 5 and Group 2 burials were found in Zones 1, 3, 4, and 5. Because all zones are interpreted as representing high-status residential areas (see Chapter 6), the presence of high-status tombs in all zones corroborates the interpretation of the archaeological area under investigation as a high-status residential area. High-status tombs contained luxury goods such as *Spondylus* and greenstone, were marked by offering houses or benches that served as capstones, and contained multiple individuals including adults and children. Many of these burials also had offering holes indicating that certain individuals within the tomb were venerated as ancestors.

There are several interesting patterns regarding the distribution of artifacts and features among the Group 1 and Group 2 burial contexts. These patterns pertain to offering holes, Wari

blackware ceramics, wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, miniature ceramic vessels, precious metals, beads, snuff spoons, *tupus*, and figurines.

Group 1 burials differ from Group 2 burials in one significant way, namely that Group 1 burials contained Wari blackware ceramics as grave goods but Group 2 burials did not. Figure 101a shows the presence/absence of offering holes, Wari blackware ceramics, and wedge-shaped *Spondylus* per burial context for Groups 1 and 2. For comparison, Figure 101b shows the same information for Groups 3 and 4.

Group 1 and 2 burial contexts are both generally characterized by having offering holes and wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Neither of these characteristics is associated with Group 3 or 4 burials. In EA-150, several pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* were found clustered together in the tomb beneath the offering hole above. Thus, it is apparent that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was dropped into tombs through offering holes after individuals were sealed in the tomb.

The striking difference between Group 1 and Group 2 tombs is the presence of Wari blackware ceramics. These high-status wares were only found in Group 1 burial contexts. Six of the 10 burial contexts in Group 1 had offering holes. However, because of the close association between offering holes and wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, it is likely that offering holes were associated with at least three of the other burial contexts (EA-64, EA-138, and EA-179) whose bench/capstones were too destroyed to determine if they originally had offering holes. In fact, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was found associated with the tomb in EA-110, a Group 2 burial, which also suggests it, too, had an offering hole associated with its tomb.

Figure 101a and 101b: Presence/absence/missing data of offering holes, Wari blackware style ceramics, and wedge-shaped *Spondylus* per burial context (organized by group)

Figure 101a

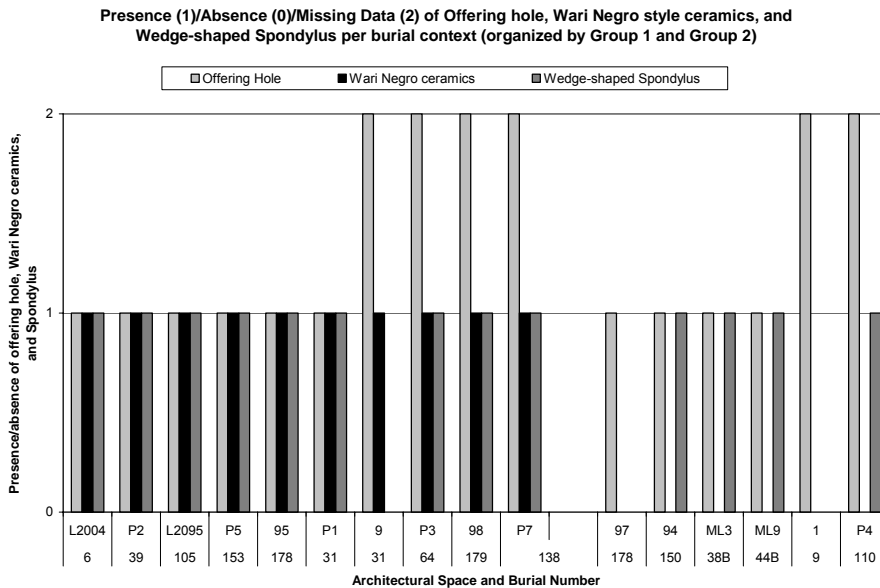


Figure 101b

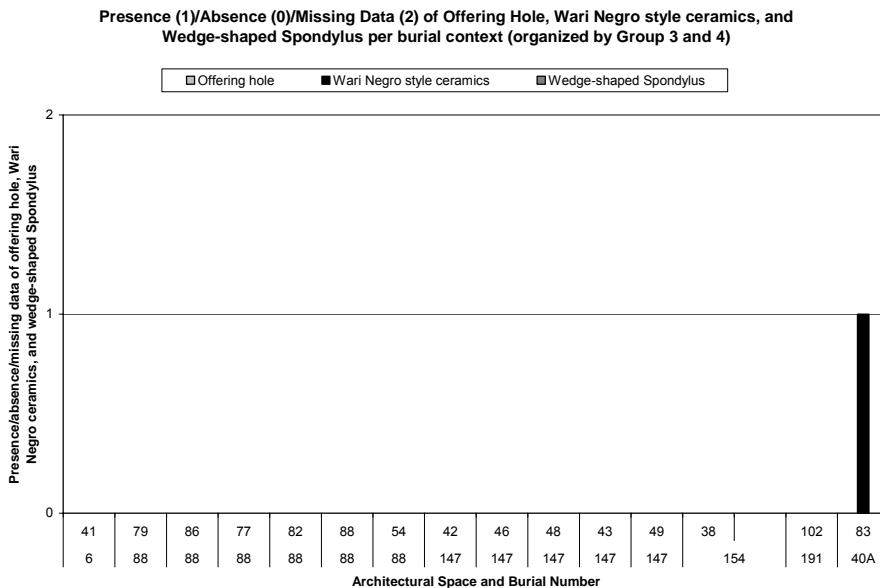


Figure 102 shows the presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns and/or jars per burial context; all groups are represented for comparison. These two types of mini-vessels were found in burial contexts in all groups. However, they were mainly found in Group 1 burials.

Figure 102: Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns and/or jars per burial context (organized by group)

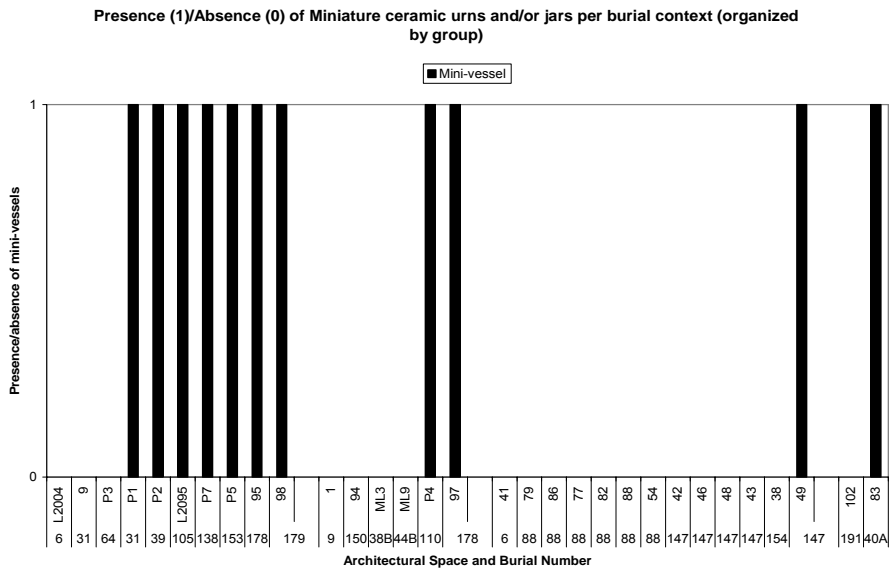


Figure 103 shows the presence/absence of beads and gold/silver in Group 1 and 2 burial contexts. Beads were relatively common, but they were more often found in Group 1 burials. Gold and silver were rare at Conchopata, but these precious metals were also mostly found in Group 1 burials. The large tomb in EA-150 was the only burial context that had both gold and silver artifacts. Beads, gold, and silver were not found in Group 3 and 4 burials.

Figure 103: Presence/absence of beads and precious metals (organized by Group 1 and 2)

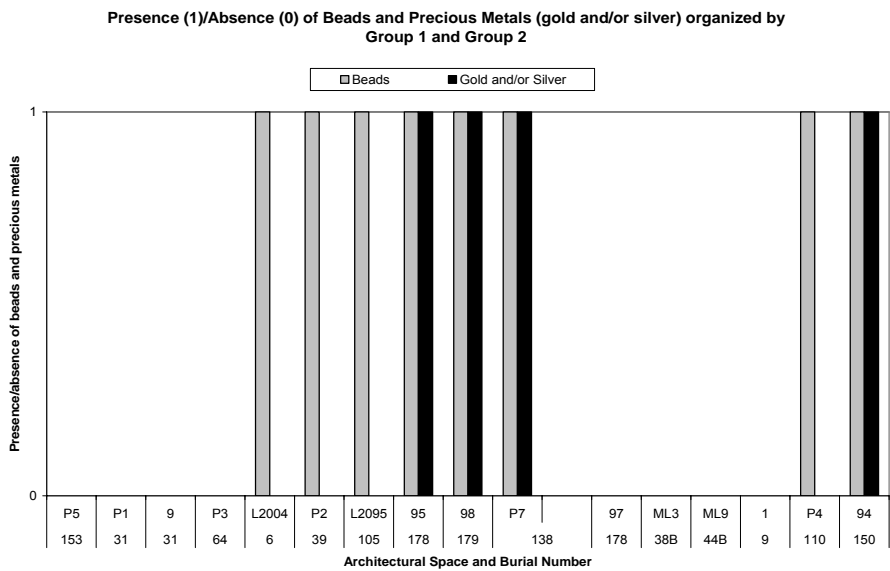
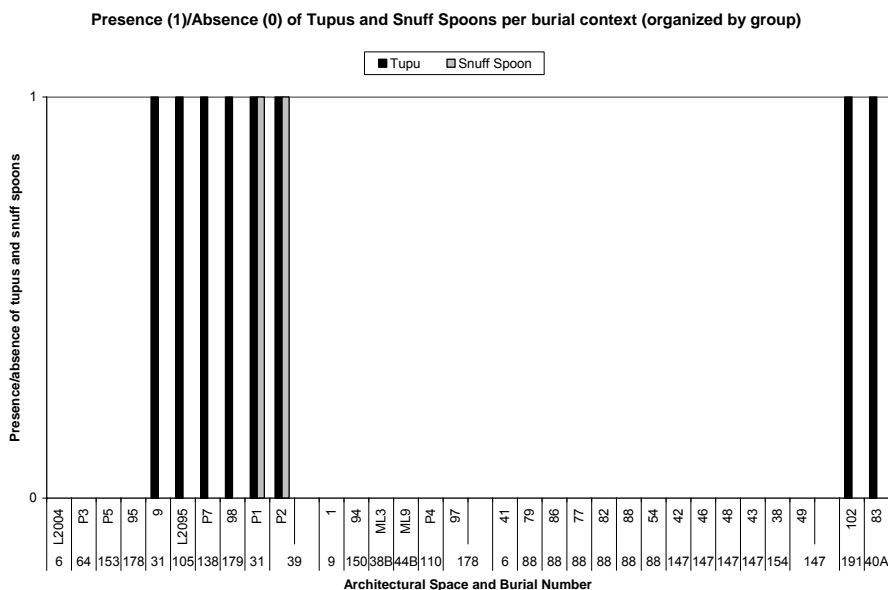


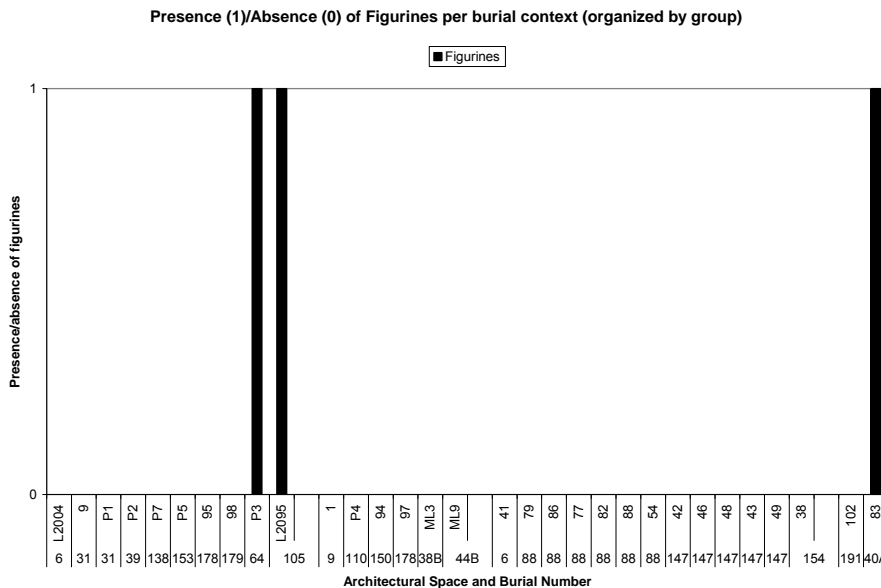
Figure 104 shows the presence/absence of *tupus* and snuff spoons per burial context; all groups are represented for comparison. *Tupus* were found in Group 1 and 4 burial contexts, but not in Group 2 or 3 burial contexts. Infant/child burials did not receive *tupus* as grave goods. Snuff spoons were rare and were only found in Group 1 burial contexts, and specifically only in the mortuary complexes located in Zone 5. EA-31 was a room in Mortuary Complex “A” and EA-39 was the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex “B.”

Figure 104: Presence/absence of *tupus* and snuff spoons per burial context (organized by group)



Finally, Figure 105 shows the presence/absence of figurines per burial context; all groups are represented for comparison. Figurines follow the same pattern as *tupus*. Figurines were rare as grave goods and they were only found in tombs located in Zone 5. Additionally, they were found in Group 1 and 4 burial contexts but not in Group 2 or 3 burial contexts. Infant/child burials did not receive figurines or *tupus* as grave goods.

Figure 105: Presence (1)/Absence (0) of figurines per burial context (organized by group)



In summary, Group 1 and Group 2 burial contexts were of high-status. High-status tombs were characterized by being marked with offering houses or benches that served as capstones, and some had offering holes. High-status tombs also contained luxury grave goods such as greenstone and wedge-shaped *Spondylus*.

There were several differences between Group 1 and Group 2 burials. Though miniature ceramic vessels, precious metals, and beads were found in high-status tombs in general, these artifacts were more prevalent in Group 1 burials. In addition, several kinds of artifacts were found in Group 1 burials but not in Group 2 burials including Wari blackware ceramics, snuff spoons, *tupus*, and figurines. Thus, though both Group 1 and 2 burials were high-status, individuals in Group 1 burials received a greater variety and/or quantity of luxury grave goods and/or were the focus of more ceremony and ritual. Some of this ceremony and ritual probably involved ancestor veneration which may have included activities such as small-scaling feting of

the ancestors (Wari blackware ceramics), drug ingestion (snuff spoons), and/or symbolic offerings of *chicha* (miniature ceramic jars and urns).

8.4.2. Low-status burials

Group 4 represents low-status burials and consisted only of adults. Only two burials are included in this group: EA-40A (located in Zone 5) and EA-191 (located in Zone 4). Both of these burials were bedrock tombs located beneath floors. These burials contained few luxury items.

The tomb in EA-40A had at least five adults; the human skeletal remains from this tomb have not been analyzed. This was a disturbed tomb, yet it yielded numerous grave goods, many intact. It was remarkable for containing Wari blackware ceramics (three intact closed bowls and one mini-jar) as part of its grave offerings. It also had a human figurine, two mini-jars, and two *tupus*.

The tomb in EA-191 contained at least two adults. The primary individual was an intact adult female, age 30-40 years. She was buried with several bones (feet bones, mandible, and sternum) from at least one adult male and an open bowl on her head. Other grave goods included an incised mother-of-pearl shell adornment, one *tupu*, and one piece of worked greenstone.

In summary, Group 4 burials were bedrock tombs placed beneath floors that contained only adults. Though a few grave offerings in these burials were luxury items (such as Wari blackware ceramics, figurines, and mini-vessels in EA-40A, and greenstone and shell adornment in EA-191), these burials did not have the quantity and variety of grave goods found in Groups 1 and 2 tombs. Despite the presence of a few luxury items in Group 4 burials, they lack two important characteristics that make them stand apart from Groups 1 and 2 burials. Group 4

burials were not marked with benches or offering houses but were sealed beneath floors and they were not accessible through offering holes.

8.4.3. Infant/child burials

Infants and children were found in several types of burial contexts. The most common was in tombs that held multiple individuals of all ages, which were probably family tombs. Infants were also put into large ollas and placed in tombs; it is unclear whether these olla burials were grave offerings or a burial form for infants. EA-31/Burial 9 and EA-105/Burial L2095 both contained one large olla within which was a single infant. Children were also buried in bedrock pits beneath patio floors (EA-6/Burial 41). Finally, infants/children were buried in benches in rooms. This special type of bench burial was almost exclusively found in Zone 5. The exception was a single bench burial in EA-154 located in Zone 3.

Group 3 burials represent infant/child burials. All of these burials, except EA-6/Burial 41 which was located beneath a patio floor, were located in benches. These bench burials contained few, if any, luxury items. Grave goods that have been found in infant/child burials include shell adornments, copper objects such as bells, musical instruments such as whistles, and miniature ceramic vessels. Infant/child burials never contained Wari blackware ceramics, beads, *Spondylus*, *tupus*, gold or silver, greenstone, figurines, or snuff spoons. In addition, infant/child burials were not marked nor were they associated with offering holes.

Of the 13 infant/child burials, 11 were located in two rooms, EA-88 and EA-147, and these two rooms were located in Zone 5. The concentration of Group 3 burials in two rooms suggests some children at Conchopata received special burial treatment. These children may have held a special status at Conchopata. EA-88 was part of Mortuary Complex "B" and the infants/children buried in EA-88 may have been children of individuals buried in the adjacent

main burial chamber (EA-39). This explanation is somewhat problematic since infants/children were included in the tombs in EA-39. Alternatively, infant/child burials may have been dedicatory offerings.

Comparing infant/child burials, a few patterns are evident. First, infants and children were usually buried with an open bowl placed on their heads (see Figure 106). Adult females were sometimes also buried with bowls on their heads, and examples were found in the tombs in EA-105 and EA-191. Small face-neck jars were found in one child burial each in EA-88 and EA-147. But mini-vessels were only found in one burial in EA-147.

Figure 106: Presence/absence of open bowl, small face-neck jar, and miniature ceramic urns and/or jars per burial context

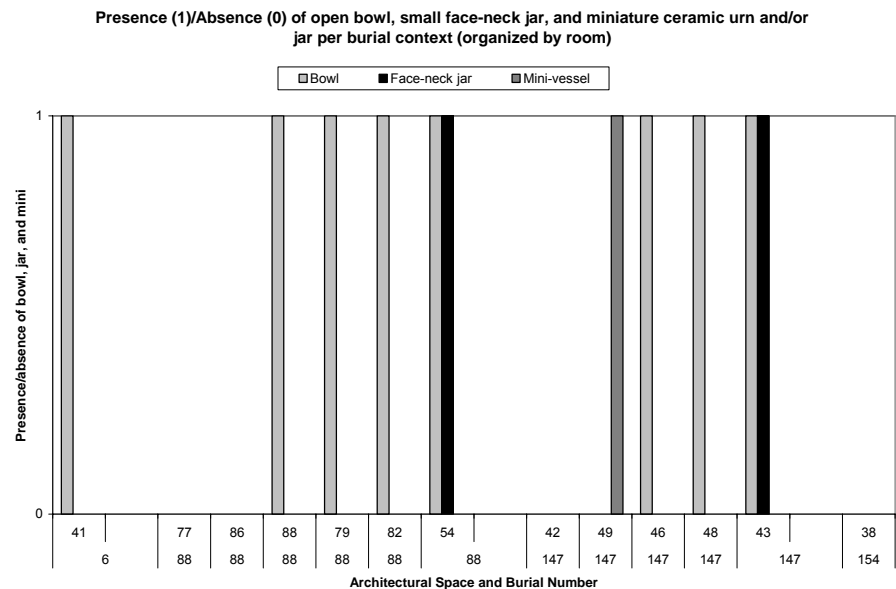
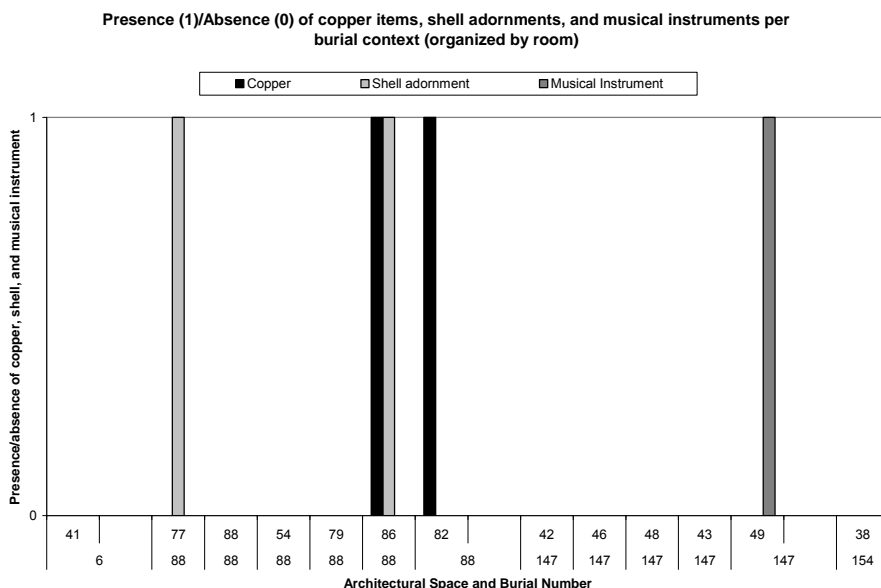


Figure 107 shows the presence/absence of copper items, shell adornments, and musical instruments per burial context. Copper items and shell adornments were only found in burials in EA-88. Interestingly, only two infant/child burials had cinnabar sprinkled on the bodies and both were in EA-88. The only burial that had a musical instrument (a whistle) was in EA-147.

Figure 107: Presence/absence of copper items, shell adornments, and musical instruments per burial context (organized by room)



In summary, a special group of infants/children at Conchopata were accorded bench burials. They were usually buried with bowls on their heads with few, if any, grave goods. Most infant/child bench burials were located in EA-88 and EA-147. In general, the burials in EA-88 were associated with copper items, shell adornments, and cinnabar. And those in EA-147 were associated with mini-vessels and musical instruments.

8.4.4. Distribution of burials, artifacts, and features across zones

The few artifacts found in the single burial in Zone 1 (EA-9/Burial 1) suggest the tomb was heavily looted. Though this tomb was a high-status tomb (Group 2), it did not yield enough information to compare it to other tombs found at the site. Thus, other than in Zone 1, several features and grave goods were found in burials across all zones such as beads, bench/capstones, *Spondylus*, greenstone, and *tupus*.

In addition, high-status burials (Group 1 and Group 2) were found in all zones at Conchopata. The unique infant/child bench burials (Group 3) were only found in Zones 3 and 5. Finally, lower-status burials were only found in Zones 4 and 5.

Some burial features and grave goods were found in some zones but not others (see Table 24). For example, offering houses (as distinct from bench-like capstones) were only found in burial contexts located in Zones 4 and 5, and four of the five offering houses at Conchopata were located in Zone 5. Miniature ceramic vessels and Wari blackware ceramics were only found in burial contexts located in Zones 2, 3, and 5. Gold and/or silver was only found in burial contexts located in Zones 2, 3, and 4. And snuff spoons, figurines, and musical instruments were only found in burial contexts located in Zone 5.

Table 24: Distribution of select burial features and artifacts across zones

Zone	Burial Group	Offering house	Wari blackware ceramics	Gold and/or silver	Mini-vessels	Snuff spoons	Figurines	Musical instruments
1	2							
2	1		X	X	X			
3	1, 2, 3		X	X	X			
4	2, 4	X		X				
5	1, 2, 3, 4	X	X		X	X	X	X

There are two notable patterns regarding the distribution of offering holes. First, though offering holes were only definitively found in burial contexts in Zones 2, 4, and 5, it is likely that burial contexts in Zone 3 had offering holes because several of these burials had wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. And second, only burials that contained at least one adult had offering holes.

Because burials with offering holes also contained high-status grave goods, the indication is that only high-status families at Conchopata practiced the type of ancestor veneration in which

continued interaction with the dead was possible through the use of offering holes. Lower-status households may have also practiced a different form of ancestor veneration, however, and evidence from lower-status burials indicates that human remains were manipulated. Thus, the type of ancestor veneration practiced by high- and low-status social segments was qualitatively different.

Also interesting is the distribution of miniature ceramic vessels and Wari blackware ceramics in tombs. Despite the fact that most tombs were disturbed and their original grave offerings probably missing, the available evidence indicates that mini-vessels and Wari blackware ceramics were included as grave goods in tombs found in Zones 2, 3, and 5. And, only burials that contained at least one adult had mini-vessels and Wari blackware ceramics, with the exception of EA-147/Burial 49 which had mini-vessels.

8.4.5. Summary

An analysis of burials indicates that certain individuals were treated differently in death than others. In general, four types of burial treatments are indicated. Group 1 and 2 burials were high-status tombs and Group 4 burials were of lower-status. Group 3 burials were a special form of burial treatment accorded to certain infants and children.

High-status tombs differed from low-status tombs in the amount of energy expended in tomb construction, the quantity and quality of grave goods, the diversity of grave goods, and the presence of bench-like capstones or offering houses marking the tomb. Additionally, high-status tombs were usually specifically located in rooms devoted to mortuary activity. Lower-status tombs were located in sealed contexts beneath the floors of domestic/workshop spaces and were not marked with capstones or offering houses, though they could have been marked with

portable or perishable objects that did not survive in the archaeological record. Both high- and low-status burials were located within the domestic sphere.

The burial analysis supports several hypotheses based on the McAnany model proposed in Chapter 1. First, the burial analysis supports the hypothesis that ancestor veneration was practiced at Conchopata at different social scales and that the type of ancestor veneration practiced by high-status households was qualitatively different than that practiced by lower-status households. As noted above, high-status tombs were more elaborate and better furnished than lower-status tombs. Many high-status tombs were equipped with communication devices in the form of offering holes that allowed continued interaction with the dead. Lower-status tombs did not have communication devices.

Second, age bias is one line of evidence used to identify ancestor veneration. In high-status tombs, the evidence for age bias is indirect. Specifically, all tombs with offering holes contained at least one adult; infant/child burials never had offering holes. Therefore, adults were probably the focus of ancestor veneration in high-status tombs. The presence of only adults in lower-status tombs and their location beneath domestic rooms suggest that only certain individuals of the lower-statuses were buried within the residential context; these special individuals may have been venerated ancestors.

Third, there is some evidence for performance reaffirmation rituals based on the presence of Wari blackware ceramics and wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Wari blackware ceramics were state-associated, high-status vessels that were almost exclusively made up of serving wares (small face-neck jars, bowls and cups) and probably only used by individuals of high status. Wari blackware ceramics were only found in high-status tombs, and specifically in tombs with offerings holes. At Conchopata, this exclusive serving ware was probably used in small-scale

feasting events hosted by high-status households (see Chapter 6). Perhaps the propitiation of the ancestors involved small-scale feasting events using Wari blackware ceramics.

Additionally, the evidence for periodic propitiation of the ancestors is stronger for the presence of *Spondylus* in tombs. Specifically, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was found in high-status tombs that had offering holes and the evidence clearly indicates that it was dropped through offering holes into the tomb below (e.g., in EA-150/Burial 94). Thus, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was a luxury item specifically used in the propitiation of the ancestors.

Finally, the burial analysis provides some support for the hypothesis that ancestors are maintained within the domestic realm because they legitimize kin group status and are a source of power. The presence of individuals of all ages in high-status tombs suggests they housed members of the same family and their location within a residential setting infers that individuals buried in high-status tombs were being cared for and venerated by their living descendants. What is noteworthy about Conchopata tombs is that access to them was very restricted and they were completely inaccessible to the general public. Thus, the fact that venerated ancestors were kept within the domestic realm and that access to them was restricted suggests that their living descendants regarded them as a source of power that had to be carefully guarded.

At an even finer level, an elaborate form of ancestor veneration as an exclusively elite social practice may indicate that ancestor veneration was a source of inter-elite competition. Important ancestors were not venerated by the community at large. Rather, the descendants of venerated ancestors were responsible for their well-being, and only high-status households practiced a distinctive form of ancestor veneration involving continued interaction with the ancestors through offering holes. Additionally, among high-status households, some set aside

specific rooms for their ancestors, whereas others built entire multi-roomed mortuary complexes to house their ancestors.

Additionally, not all individuals buried within the domestic context were venerated as ancestors. Specifically, the mortuary rooms in several households contained multiple tombs (e.g., EA-138, EA-178, Mortuary Complex “A,” and Mortuary Complex “B”), and the available evidence indicates that not all the two tombs within these rooms or complexes had offering holes. Thus, continued interaction was reserved for some but not all of Conchopata’s high-status dead.

Finally, though all high-status tombs were marked, very few were marked with offering houses. This suggests that only certain family members received special burial treatment in the form of offering houses. Offering houses were more elaborate and required greater time and effort to build than bench-like capstones. They also offered a more elaborate means through which the living could interact with the dead. Not only could offerings be dropped through offering holes, but prestations of food and drink to important ancestors could be placed within the interior space of offering houses.

The burial analysis provides evidence that multi-roomed mortuary complexes were distinct in some ways from mortuary rooms. Though it is possible that mortuary complexes are located in other zones, the available evidence indicates that mortuary complexes are only represented in Zone 5. Also, although there is much missing data because of looting and heavy disturbance, it is highly likely that offering houses (as distinct from bench-like capstones) were present in mortuary rooms (likely candidates would be in EA-179 and EA-110). However, the available evidence indicates that offering houses were mainly found in mortuary complexes. The single exception was the large, elaborate offering house in EA-150 located in Zone 4.

Additionally, snuff spoons were only found in mortuary complexes suggesting that rituals involving the ingestion of hallucinogenic drugs were highly restricted. Because snuff spoons were only found in households that had mortuary complexes, perhaps members of these two households were ritual specialists. Finally, the available evidence indicates that only two households built entire mortuary complexes to house their important dead. However, the EA-77 household, which was also located in Zone 5, had at least two rooms in which mortuary activity was prominent (EA-6 and EA-105) indicating that it, too, invested much in the care and maintenance of their important dead.

Overall, the burial analysis found differences in burial treatments which were interpreted as representing high-status tombs, low-status tombs, and a special form of treatment reserved for infants/children. High-status tombs, which were the most elaborate and furnished, were located in all zones at Conchopata. Because all the zones at Conchopata are interpreted as residential areas (see Chapter 6), the indication is that ceremonies and rituals associated with mortuary activity and ancestor veneration were prominent at the household level. Specifically, at Conchopata high-status households practiced a form of ancestor veneration that involved continued interaction with the dead, and these ancestors were carefully guarded by their descendants suggesting that important ancestors were a source of power and status to the living.

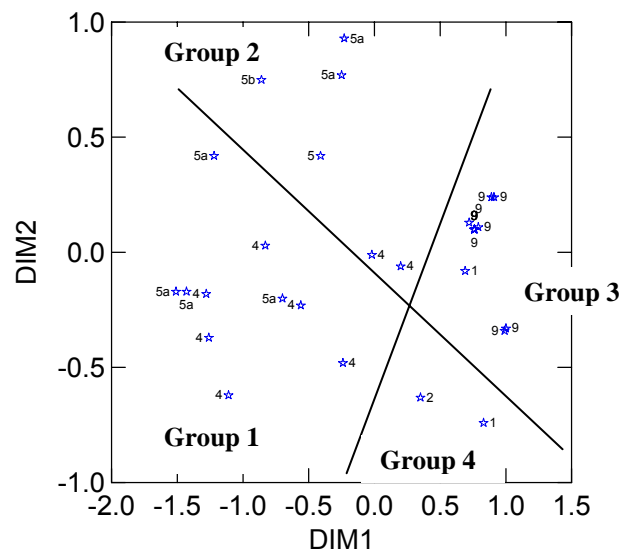
8.5. Evaluation of Isbell Burial Types

Isbell (2001a, 2002, 2004; Isbell & Cook 2000, 2002) and Tung and Cook (2006) identified nine Wari burial types. These burial types were primarily defined based on location and form. Of the nine burial types, five were part of the present dataset. It is important to note that one of the variables used in the multidimensional scaling analysis of burials was location, which was one of the defining characteristics Isbell used in setting up the Wari burial typology. However, putting

aside this bias, for the most part Isbell's Wari Burial Types conform to the groups produced by the multidimensional scaling analysis. This discussion focuses on the patterns produced by the burial groups identified in the multidimensional scaling compared to Isbell's Wari Burial Types.

Figure 108 shows the scatter plot produced by Dimensions 1 and 2 with the coordinates of each point relabeled according to Isbell's Wari burial typology and each group of burials labeled according to the groups produced by the multidimensional scaling.

Figure 108: Scatterplot of Wari burial types according to Isbell, Cook and Tung (produced by Dimensions 1 and 2)



Wari Burial Type 9, which represents infant/child bench burials, was a distinct group that was also identified in the present research as Group 3 burials. Though Group 3 contained a single example of Wari Burial Type 1, this burial represented that of a single child. Thus, there is an almost perfect fit between Wari Burial Type 9 and Group 3 burials.

Wari Burial Types 1 and 2 were those of individuals of lower-status. Though Isbell makes distinctions between these two burial types, he (2004:8) suggests that Type 1 burials

could become Type 2 burials through time as more bodies were added to the tomb. Wari Burial Types 1 and 2 are represented in Group 4 burials identified in the present research as lower-status tombs. Thus, there is a very good fit between Isbell's definitions of low-status tombs (Wari Burial Types 1 and 2) and Group 4 burials.

Wari Burial Types 4 and 5 were distinct from Burial Types 1, 2, and 9. According to Isbell (2004:26), Burial Type 4, which was a bedrock tomb housing the remains of adults and children located in residential areas beneath floors, represented tombs of minor nobles. Burial Type 5, which was a mortuary room interment housing the remains of adults and children, represented Conchopata rulers and their family members. According to Isbell's burial typology, Burial Type 5 is distinguished from Burial Type 4 in its location in rooms devoted to mortuary activity, though he does indicate that Burial Type 4 may be a variation of the mortuary room (Isbell 2004:10).

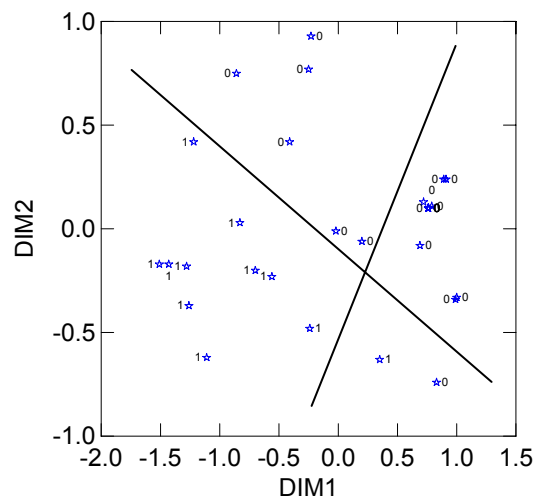
Wari Burial Types 4 and 5 are represented in Group 1 and Group 2 burial contexts produced by the multidimensional scaling analysis of burials. According to the present analysis, Isbell's Burial Types 4 and 5 are very similar. In accordance with Isbell, the present analysis indicates that Wari Burial Types 4 and 5 are high-status tombs. Thus, in general, there is a good fit between Isbell's identification of high-status tombs (Wari Burial Types 4 and 5) and Group 1 and 2 tombs.

Figure 109 is the scatter plot produced by Dimensions 1 and 2 of burial location. Location "1" represents burials located within a bench (infant/child burials), "2a" in a stone-lined tomb beneath a bench, "2b" in a bedrock tomb beneath a bench, "3" beneath an offering house, and "4" (low-status, adult-only tombs) in a bedrock tomb beneath a floor.

Whereas Isbell's criteria indicate that elites were subdivided into minor nobles (who were

Specifically, the two groups of high-status tombs identified in the multidimensional scaling analysis of burials differed significantly on the presence of a specific grave good in one burial group (Group 1) but not the other (Group 2): Wari blackware ceramics (see Figure 110). In addition, *tupus* were only found in Group 1 burials. Although snuff spoons and figurines were rare grave goods, they were also only found in Group 1 burials. Finally, though mini-vessels and beads were found in both Group 1 and Group 2 burials, they were more prevalent in Group 1 burials.

Figure 110: Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Wari blackware style ceramics organized by group (produced by Dimensions 1 and 2)



9. CONCLUSION

When I began my research, virtually nothing was known about Wari mortuary patterns. Several seasons of fieldwork at Conchopata produced a diverse collection of burials, and this rich data source provided an opportunity to explore Wari mortuary behavior in a broader social context. I chose to investigate burial treatments at Conchopata from the perspective of ancestor veneration for two main reasons: 1) ancestor veneration was an important sociopolitical feature for late prehispanic societies such as the Inka; and, 2) archaeologists, on occasion, uncritically projected ancestor veneration far into the Andean past. McAnany's approach to Mayan ancestor veneration formed the basis of a model to evaluate the presence and implications of ancestor veneration at Conchopata. Not only does her work outline specific archaeological correlates of burial practices indicative of ancestor veneration, but additionally her evaluation of ancestor veneration among the Maya connected it to elite status legitimization.

9.1. Wari Deathways and the McAnany model

McAnany's (1995) model of ancestor veneration links the veneration of ancestors to the development and maintenance of socioeconomic and political inequality. Specifically, through the veneration of important ancestors who were kept within the residential realm, the living could draw power from the past and legitimize social status, political power, and/or rights to economic resources. The present study evaluated six lines of evidence derived from McAnany's model to evaluate whether the variation in Conchopata burials was a manifestation of similar ancestor veneration and what the implications were of ancestor veneration as an elite social practice in Wari society.

A zonal analysis concluded that all five zones investigated in this study were probably high-status residential areas. High-status households at Conchopata had at least one room in

which mortuary ceremonies and rituals were especially prominent. Places within households where mortuary rituals were prominent could include small patios, mortuary rooms, or entire mortuary complexes. Four groups of burials were identified. Group 1 burials were high-status tombs and were found in Zones 2, 3, and 5. Group 2 burials were also high-status tombs and they were found in all zones at Conchopata. Group 3 burials consisted of infant/child burials that were almost exclusively found in Zone 5 with a single exception in Zone 3. And, Group 4 burials were those of lower-status individuals and were located in Zones 4 and 5.

9.1.1. Hypothesis 1: Protracted burial rites

Hypotheses 1 suggests there should be archaeological evidence of protracted burial rites if ancestor veneration was practiced. And, evidence for protracted burial rites was found in burial contexts at Conchopata. Archaeological correlates of protracted burial rites include evidence of tomb reopenings and the manipulation of defleshed bones. Although nearly all burials at Conchopata were very disturbed and data are missing, 32% of the burial contexts produced evidence for protracted burial rites. Evidence for protracted burial rites was found in Group 1, 2 and 4 burial contexts located in Zones 3, 4, and 5.

The clearest evidence of tomb reopening was found in the large intact bedrock tomb located in EA-105 (Group 1 burial located in Zone 5). Specifically, some of the human skeletons were slightly out of anatomical position suggesting that they had been moved to the side when the tomb was reopened to make room for the newly deceased (Tung & Cook 2006). Additionally, the large bedrock tomb located in EA-150 (Group 2 burial located in Zone 4) may have been easily accessible through an entrance in the floor which was kept sealed off with stone slabs and would have allowed for multiple tomb openings and entries (Isbell 2004:15).

The manipulation of defleshed bones could include the presence of secondary burials or the post-mortem treatment of defleshed bones. Because of the disturbed nature of most burials, evidence for secondary burial could only be identified in the three intact tombs analyzed: EA-31/Burial #9 and EA-105 (both Group 1 burials located in Zone 5) and EA-191 (Group 4 burial located in Zone 4). These three tombs contained skeletal parts of one or more individuals indicating that the bones of individuals were either placed in the tomb or that bones from individuals in the tomb were removed.

Finally, 22% of the total number of burial contexts analyzed contained human skeletal remains that had cinnabar on their surfaces, and cinnabar was only found directly on human bones in Group 1, 2, and 4 burial contexts. Among high-status burial contexts, 37% of the burial contexts contained human skeletal remains with cinnabar on their surfaces. Of the two low-status tombs, EA-40A had examples of bones with cinnabar on them. Cinnabar was placed on the bones after the flesh had decomposed (Cook 2004:159), and most cinnabar was found on skull bones. Cinnabar was found directly on bones in the following burial contexts: EA-6/Burial #L2004, EA-31/Burial #P1, EA-39/Burial #P2, and EA-138, (Group 1 burials located in Zone 3 and 5); EA-110 and EA-150 (Group 2 burial located in Zones 3 and 4); and EA-40A (Group 4 burial located in Zone 5).

9.1.2. Hypothesis 2: Performance reaffirmation rituals

Hypothesis 2 suggests there should be archaeological evidence for the “performance of reaffirmation rituals” if ancestor veneration was important in status display (Marcus 1992:63 [from McAnany 1995:31]). Evidence for the performance of reaffirmation rituals was found at Conchopata, and was exclusively associated with high-status burial contexts (Groups 1 and 2) located in Zones 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Archaeological correlates of reaffirmation rituals include evidence for feasting activity, prestations of distinctive items to the ancestors, and the presence of dedicatory rituals. The fact that reaffirmation rituals were only associated with high-status burials suggests that ancestor veneration and elaborate deathways were important manifestations of status display among high-status households.

The evidence indicates that feasting activity was associated with mortuary activity. Specifically, small-scale feasting followed by pot smashing ceremonies occurred in Mortuary Complexes “A” and “B” (both located in Zone 5) and patio EA-148 (located in Zone 4) which was close to mortuary room EA-150 and part of the same household.

In addition, the propitiation of the ancestors may have involved symbolic offerings of large quantities of *chicha* in dozens of miniature ceramic urns. The use of mini-vessels in the Andes to symbolically transfer offerings to spirits has been documented ethnohistorically (Sillar 2000:120, 2004:161). *Chicha* was the most important Andean beverage used in ritual, and was prepared and brewed in large jars and served in oversized, decorated urns (Cook 2004; Cook & Glowacki 2003). At Conchopata, mini-jars and mini-urns were mainly found in high-status burials (Groups 1 and 2). Of the high-status burial contexts, 56% had mini-jars and/or mini-urns compared to 13% of burial contexts with mini-vessels in Group 3 and 4 burial contexts. EA-110 was a mortuary room in Zone 3 that was associated with the EA-98 Wari patio group/palace, and was noteworthy for its significantly high proportion of mini-urns compared to other mortuary rooms.

Regarding prestations of distinctive items to the ancestors, Wari blackware ceramics and wedge-shaped *Spondylus* stand out as distinctive items placed in tombs. Wari blackware ceramics were almost exclusively found in Group 1 burials (located in Zones 2, 3, and 5), and all

burials in Group 1 had blackware ceramics. Wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was a distinctive type of offering made periodically to important ancestors and was found in 81% of Group 1 and 2 burial contexts. Though some data are missing, the evidence indicates that wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was only found in tombs that had offering holes. *Spondylus* was not included as a grave offering in low-status burials (Group 4). And, children were never buried with *Spondylus* or Wari blackware ceramics.

Finally, possible dedicatory offerings were found in several mortuary rooms located in Zones 2 and 5. EA-64 had a small pit filled with wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and EA-153 had a small bench that was filled with items carved from *Spondylus* and greenstone. EA-44A in Mortuary Complex “A” and EA-64 had camelid offerings. And, the EA-39C tomb had a concentration of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* on the floor of its offering house.

9.1.3. Hypothesis 3: Identification of venerated ancestors

Hypothesis 3 suggests that if ancestors were important in legitimizing kin group status and power, then venerated ancestors should be kept close to dwellings which served as the “curational envelope” for the ancestors (McAnany 1995:50). At Conchopata, the residential setting served as the curational envelope for ancestors of both high-status and low-status social residents. The fact that venerated ancestors were housed in private, domestic settings suggests that ancestors were carefully guarded, presumably because they were important in some way in the legitimization of power and status.

Tombs of venerated ancestors should be different from tombs of those who did not achieve ancestor status. And this is the case at Conchopata. Within the domestic domain, not all the dead were treated equally: some were buried in benches (Group 3 burials), some beneath floors in domestic/workshop spaces (Group 4 burials), and some in mortuary rooms or

complexes (Group 1 and 2 burials). The evidence indicates that Group 4 burials, located beneath domestic/workshop spaces in Zones 4 and 5, contained venerated ancestors of lower-status families. The presence of tombs beneath domestic/workshop spaces was not common and only two were found (in EA-40A and EA-191, both Group 4 burials) suggesting that this form of burial was reserved to certain individuals and that most individuals of lower-status were buried in locations outside of the residential setting. Individuals in Group 3 burials (infants and children) were not venerated ancestors.

Groups 1 and 2 were high-status burials found in rooms in which mortuary rituals were prominent. However, within these mortuary rooms, not all the high-status dead were treated equally. For example, while all high-status tombs were marked in some way, either by a bench-like capstone or offering house, only 26% of the tombs had offering houses above them. And even though many high-status tombs with bench-like capstones had offering holes, all offering houses had offering holes and offering houses were more elaborate than bench-like capstones suggesting that ancestors buried in tombs with offering houses were the focus of more ceremony and ritual. Of the five tombs that had offering houses, four were located in the mortuary complexes in Zone 5 (EA-38B and EA-44B in Mortuary Complex “A” and EA-39B and EA-39C in Mortuary Complex “B”). The single exception was EA-150 located in Zone 4.

9.1.4. Hypothesis 4: Gender and Age Bias

Hypothesis 4 suggests there should be archaeological evidence of age and gender bias if ancestor veneration was practiced. Only adults are expected to be venerated as ancestors, and in some cases ancestor status could be gender biased. There was no gender restriction to becoming an ancestor at Conchopata; rather, the evidence suggests that both males and females were

venerated as ancestors. However, the evidence seems to support age bias. Specifically, only adults were venerated as ancestors.

All low-status tombs (Group 4 burials) contained only adult skeletons suggesting that certain adults among lower-status families merited burial within the domestic context. There are no burial features or evidence to indicate that individuals in Group 3 burials were venerated as ancestors. Group 3 burials consisted entirely of infants and/or children.

As indicated above, wedge-shaped *Spondylus* was only found in high-status tombs (Groups 1 and 2) that had offering holes and all tombs with offering holes had wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Because many tombs are very disturbed and data are missing, it can be inferred that tombs that contained wedge-shaped *Spondylus* probably also had offering holes. At Conchopata, the evidence is clear that although all high-status tombs in mortuary rooms were marked with bench-like capstones or offering houses, not all had wedge-shaped *Spondylus*/offering holes. Specifically, in several rooms that had two or more tombs (EA-31, EA-38, EA-44B, EA-39, EA-64, and EA-178), not all of the tombs had offering holes. This suggests that only certain individuals of high-status families became venerated ancestors.

Despite the fact that high-status tombs contained the remains of individuals of all ages, tombs that had features consistent with the practice of ancestor veneration, most specifically offering holes, always contained at least one adult which indirectly suggests that adults of high-status families were the focus of ancestor veneration. As noted above, Group 3 infant/child burials never had offering holes.

9.1.5. Hypothesis 5: Identification of ancestor veneration at different social scales

Hypothesis 5 suggests that if ancestor veneration was a widespread social practice, then there should be evidence of differences in the practice of ancestor veneration at different social scales.

In the archaeological record, ancestor veneration practiced by high-status households should be qualitatively different from that practiced by low-status households, for example in terms of tomb location and elaboration and/or quality and types of grave goods. Evidence for ancestor veneration was found in both high-status and low-status tombs suggesting that it was a widespread social practice at Conchopata. And the evidence clearly indicates that ancestor veneration practiced by high-status social segments was qualitatively different than that practiced by lower-status social segments.

At Conchopata, both high-status (Groups 1 and 2) and low-status (Group 4) tombs were located within the residential setting. However, ancestor veneration practiced by high-status residents was qualitatively different in several ways than that practiced by lower-status residents. First, high-status households buried their ancestors within rooms or complexes specifically devoted to mortuary ritual whereas lower-status residents buried their ancestors beneath floors of rooms where daily domestic activities and/or craft production took place. Second, high-status households maintained continued interaction with their ancestors through offering holes and in one case (EA-150) through a possible entryway into the tomb through the floor. Third, high-status households propitiated their ancestors with periodic offerings of distinctive items such as wedge-shaped *Spondylus*. Finally, high-status households engaged in mortuary rituals associated with the ingestion of hallucinogenic drugs as evidenced by the presence of snuff spoons.

In general, high-status households practiced similar mortuary rituals and there were no relevant differences in burial treatments between high-status tombs located in mortuary complexes and those located in patios or mortuary rooms. However, several lines of evidence suggest that some mortuary activity practiced by high-status households with multi-roomed

mortuary complexes was distinctly different from high-status households that did not have entire mortuary complexes. Households with mortuary complexes were only found in Zone 5.

The obvious difference between households with mortuary complexes compared to others is that those with mortuary complexes were clearly placing considerable investment in activities surrounding the dead. Mortuary complexes contained rooms where most of the burials were concentrated and other rooms in which special activities took place. For example, in Mortuary Complex “A,” burials were found in EA-31, EA-38, and EA-44B; EA-36 and EA-31 had ceramic smashes on their floors; and EA-44A had camelid offerings beneath its floor. In mortuary Complex “B,” burials were concentrated in EA-39, and EA-88 not only had a ceramic smash on its floor but also contained six infant/child burials in its bench (Group 3 burials).

Second, although an offering house was found above a tomb in at least one mortuary room (EA-150 located in Zone 4), mainly households with multi-roomed mortuary complexes constructed elaborate offering houses for their most important ancestors. Specifically, Mortuary Complex “A” had at least two offerings houses (EA-38B and one in EA-44B) and Mortuary Complex “B” had two offering houses (EA-39B and EA-39C).

Finally, snuff spoons were rare at Conchopata and only found in the mortuary complexes. One snuff spoon was found in Mortuary Complex “A” (EA-31/Burial P1) and one in Mortuary Complex “B” (EA-39C). The presence of snuff spoons exclusively in mortuary complexes suggests that rituals associated with the ingestion of hallucinogenic drugs were restricted to the households that had mortuary complexes.

According to Isbell (2004:26), Conchopata’s ancestors were revered by extended family members within residential settings. Further, he (2006:63-71) argues that the EA-98 Wari patio group was part of a palace complex that included the households located in Zone 5 where he

argues that the extended family of Conchopata's ruler lived. The fact that the two households at Conchopata with the most elaborate mortuary structures, Mortuary Complexes "A" and "B," were located in Zone 5 is good evidence supporting this interpretation.

9.1.6. Hypothesis 6: Continued interaction with the dead

Finally, Hypothesis 6 suggests there should be archaeological evidence of continued interaction with the dead if ancestor veneration was practiced. At Conchopata, there is strong evidence for continued interaction with the dead, and it was only associated with high-status tombs (Groups 1 and 2 located in Zones 2, 3, 4, and 5).

Offering holes are a clear example of continued interaction with the dead at Conchopata. Offering houses always had offering holes. Though much data are missing, many high-status tombs had offering holes in their bench/capstones. These offering holes usually allowed direct access to the tomb below. In cases where offering holes did not allow direct access, the evidence indicates that offerings were placed in the offering holes (e.g., offerings of *Spondylus* in the offering hole located in the bench/capstone above the tomb in EA-105). Offering holes were only associated with high-status tombs regardless of whether they were located in mortuary complexes, mortuary rooms, or patios.

Other examples of continued interaction with the dead include expansion and remodeling of tombs and mortuary structures. Tombs were reopened periodically to bury the newly dead. Because tombs at Conchopata were inaccessible, offering houses and bench/capstones probably had to be largely dismantled in order to insert new bodies and then reconstructed and/or remodeled. As the number of dead increased, more tombs and offering houses were constructed within the mortuary complexes and rooms. Because of disturbance, clear examples of expansion and remodeling were only found in Mortuary Complexes "A" and "B" and in EA-105.

9.1.7. Summary of Conchopata and its relation to the McAnany model

Overall, archaeological correlates of ancestor veneration generated from the McAnany model were found at Conchopata. Though the McAnany model (1995) was useful in identifying both the manifestation of ancestor veneration at Conchopata and the identification of elaborate deathways as an important social practice of high-status households, some aspects of ancestor veneration at Conchopata were significantly different than that described for the Maya. And this difference suggests that ancestor veneration at Conchopata did not play the same sociopolitical role as implied in the McAnany model.

Among the Maya, ancestor veneration was practiced at different social scales (McAnany 1995, 1999). Pertinent to the present study was the practice of ancestor veneration in villages outside the cities where Mayan royalty and their families lived. In smaller villages like K'axob, important male lineage heads were revered as ancestors and were buried in ancestral shrines (McAnany 1999). These shrines were located within residential compounds and were prominently displayed in open patios. And, importantly, these shrines were accessible to the entire community. Thus, among the ancient Maya at K'axob, the public display of ancestral shrines and their accessibility to the entire community indicate that mortuary rituals provided an opportunity for status aggrandizement by living descendants who used ancestor veneration to emphasize their connections to powerful ancestors as a means to legitimize and reinforce their power over other lineages within the community.

But at Conchopata, the manifestation of ancestor veneration differed significantly and access to ancestors was distinctly different from the Maya case. At Conchopata, access was highly restricted, ancestral tombs were hidden from public view, and ancestors were guarded within the domestic realm. Although ancestral tombs were not on public display, their restricted

access implies that ancestors were important sources of power. If the public display of important ancestors among the Maya was important for the maintenance of power and status over other lineages, Conchopata ancestors did not play a similar role for high-status households who venerated their ancestors in private. In other words, perhaps it was not necessary for high-status households at Conchopata to publicly advertise their connections to powerful ancestors in order to strengthen or reinforce their position in the community.

On the other hand, high-status households at Conchopata did practice a much more elaborate form of ancestor veneration compared to lower-status residents indicating that the dead were very important in the lives of Conchopata elites. The presence of ancestor veneration at Conchopata may represent an expression of inter-elite competition.

9.2. Conclusion: Ancestor Veneration at Conchopata

Conchopata was inhabited by a variety of social statuses and occupational specialists engaged in diverse ceremonial, ritual, and daily activities (Isbell 2004; Isbell & Cook 2002; Tung & Cook 2006). The main area investigated in this study was inhabited by high-status families whose domestic life was rich with ritual conducted at the household level. Among the most important of these rituals and ceremonies was the practice of ancestor veneration. Although ancestors were important to all social classes, elite families in particular invested considerable time and effort into the veneration of ancestors, and only elites practiced an elaborate form of veneration involving continued and daily interaction with their ancestors.

The form of ancestor veneration practiced at Conchopata was distinctly different than that practiced by other prehispanic Andean peoples. The practice of protracted burial rites by the Moche (A.D. 100-800) suggests that ancestors held influence over the living in Moche society (Millaire 2004). Both Conchopata and Moche dead were placed in inaccessible tombs and

permanently removed from the realm of the living. However, at Conchopata continued interaction with important ancestors was possible through offering holes. This difference in the interaction between Moche and Conchopata families and their ancestors implies that at Conchopata ancestors were viewed as more directly important and influential in the lives of their descendants. And, the fact that only high-status families at Conchopata maintained direct links with their ancestors through offering holes suggests that ancestors were also a source of power.

Ancestor veneration at Conchopata contrasts sharply with that practiced in the Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1000-1470) and by the Inka (A.D. 1470-1532). *Chullpas* were above-ground houses of the dead that housed important community ancestors. They were prominently located on the landscape and specifically placed in the surrounding environment outside of the domestic realm. The placement of *chullpas* in the landscape was important in laying claim to and defining community lands. Ancestor mummies housed in *chullpas* were easily accessible by community members, were periodically removed to participate in community-wide ceremonies, and were important in community identity and social cohesion (Isbell 1997:36).

The type of ancestor veneration associated with *chullpa* interment and the role of the ancestors kept within them were markedly different from ancestor veneration practiced at Conchopata. Whereas LIP mummies were easily accessible to community members and physically participated in important community events, Conchopata ancestors were kept in below-ground tombs, away from public view, and only accessible and important to living descendants. Unlike LIP mummies who could be picked up and paraded around, Conchopata residents interacted with their ancestors more through offering holes and did not take them out of their tombs. The highly visible location of *chullpas* in the surrounding landscape outside of the residential setting was important in identifying community lands and territory to outsiders during

the LIP. But the safeguarding of Conchopata ancestors within the domestic realm implies that land claims and territorial rights were not a function of ancestor veneration.

Like ancestors kept in *chullpas*, important Inka ancestors were also preserved as mummies and continued to “live” in the realm of the living and participate in daily life. Royal Inka mummies were clothed and fed on a daily basis by special attendants and even retained ownership of the property they accumulated in life. Through their genealogical ties to a royal Inka mummy, living descendants could claim membership in the highest social class with all the rights and privileges it conferred. Thus, Inka royal mummies were immensely important sources of status and power for their living descendants. Clearly, the Inka related to their important ancestors in a way that was profoundly different than the Wari. Unlike royal Inka ancestors whose physical presence and active social lives were important in the negotiation of power by their descendants, the actual body of Conchopata ancestors and the role of ancestor veneration were not as important in the sociopolitical lives of their descendants as they were among the Inka.

Thus, the evidence suggests that mortuary rooms and complexes represent family crypts because the tombs within them contained males and females of all ages. Though all family members could be placed within the family tomb, the evidence suggests that adults were probably the focus of ancestor veneration. The placement of mortuary rooms and complexes within the domestic domain at Conchopata indicates that ancestor veneration was a private affair and suggests that important ancestors were guarded. Elaborate deathways were specifically an elite social practice. Even though high-status Conchopata households did not publicly advertise their important ancestors, having powerful ancestors probably conferred status on living descendants and may have been important in inter-elite competition.

In conclusion, this study provides evidence in support of the practice of ancestor veneration at the Wari site of Conchopata. Specifically, high-status residents practiced an elaborate form of ancestor veneration involving the continued interaction with the dead through offering holes and associated mortuary rituals. Ancestor veneration was specifically found to be an important elite social practice, and the dead were clearly important in the lives of Conchopata's high-status families. Further, high-status households with mortuary complexes stand out for placing considerably more time and effort into mortuary activity. And, as suggested by Isbell (2004:63-71), these households may have been part of the extended family of one of Conchopata's rulers.

APPENDIX A: Locus Field Forms

All forms have been adapted from Conchopata Archaeological Project field forms.

CONCHOPATA 2002
Excavación de Locus

UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

Zona B Esp. Arq. C2-____ Locus____ Capa____ Contexto Cultural_____

Datum____ Elevación____ Cuadro: N____ E____ Excavó____ Fecha Inic.____ Fin____

Locus Es: Encima de_____
Lo mismo que_____
Al costado de_____
Debajo de_____
Dentro de_____

No. de Baldes_____

Color de Suelo Munsell_____

Textura de Suelo_____

CONTROL DE MATERIAL	CANTIDAD (No. de Bolsas)	OBSERVACIONES (ubicación, distribución, estilos de la cerámica, etc.)
Muestra Botánica*		
Cerámica		
Piedra tallada		
Piedra pulida		
Oseo humano		
Oseo animal		
Oseo no identificado		
Carbón 14*		
Hallazgo Especial*		
Otro(malacológico, arcilla, pigmentos, muestra de suelo)		
*UBICAR EN EL PLANO DEL LOCUS		

CONCHOPATA 2002
Descripción de Locus

UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
NS, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

ESP. ARQ. C2- LOCUS _____ AUTOR _____ F ECHA _____

Descripción del material excavado del locus (color, textura, humedad, composición, homogeneidad, contenido cultural, distribución, estilos de cerámicas, densidad de piedras (# de baldes, presencia de muros caídas), colección de muestras especiales (micro-muestra de suelo, zaranda fina, C14, etc.), disturbación, relación con elementos arquitectónicos. Comentario del locus:

¿POR QUÉ SE DESIGNA COMO UN NUEVO LOCUS? ¿EN QUÉ SE DIFERENCIA?

SEÑALAR CARACTERÍSTICAS IMPORTANTES DE ESTE LOCUS (por ejemplo: *presencia de huesos humanos, vasijas enteras o reconstruibles, elementos o contextos especiales; presencia de materiales modernos; gran número de instrumentos de producción cerámica, hallazgos especiales, carbón, huesos de fauna, huesos de fauna quemados, manos y/o metates, etc.; escaso número de artefactos recuperados, etc.*):

INTERPRETACIÓN DEL LOCUS: ¿EN QUE ELEMENTOS SE BASA ESTA

INTERPRETACIÓN?: _____

DESCRIPCIÓN: _____

CONCHOPATA 2002 UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
Descripción de Locus (continuación) NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

CONCHOPATA 2002 UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
Descripción de Locus (continuación) NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

CONCHOPATA 2002 UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
Descripción de Locus (continuación) NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

ESP. ARQ. C2-_____ LOCUS_____ AUTOR_____ FECHA_____

DESCRIPCIÓN continuación): _____

- ↖ flecha norte
- ↗ escala
- △ elevación superior (△)
- ▽ elevación inferior (▽)
- ☐ ubicación de muestra botánica
- ⬢ ubicación de hallazgos especiales
- ⬢ ubicación de locus
- ⬢ ubicación de elementos
- ⬢ concentraciones de cerámica, óseos, etc.
- ⬢ medidas del EA, accesos, etc.

ESP. ARQ.

C2-

CONCHOPATA 2002
Hallazgo Especial

UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

ESP. ARQ. C2-_____ **LOCUS** _____ **AUTOR** _____ **No. de Registro en Libreta**
de Hallazgos Especiales_____

Procedencia, relación con otros materiales, importancia, descripción:_____

- ☐ **Ilustración**
- ☐ **Dimensiones**
- ☐ **Colores**
- ☐ **Material**

CONCHOPATA 2002
Muestra Organica

UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh, SUNY
NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

ESP. ARQ. C2- _____ **LOCUS** _____ **AUTOR** _____ **No. de Registro en**
Libreta de Radiocarbon _____

Material _____ **Tomado por** _____

Asociaciones

Importancia

Tiene valor para fechar algun contexto cultural de gran importancia? Deberia enviarse la muestra al laboratorio? Presentar evaluacion personal de la muestra.

Observaciones especiales

APPENDIX B: Excavation Form

Summary and Analysis of Architectural Space

Conchopata 2002:

Resumen y Análisis del Espacio Arquitectónico C2-_____

Nombres de excavadores _____ Fecha _____

SUGERENCIAS DE MATERIAL PARA ANALIZAR

Estamos buscando los locus que pertenecen a contextos culturales más importantes del espacio arquitectónico. Aquí queremos una lista de locus que tu crees son los más importantes para evaluar la función, importancia o uso de este espacio.

Lista de Locus más importante	¿Por qué?

¿Cuales son los conocimientos mas importantes que ha proporcionado la excavación de este EA? (Donde está ubicado en el sito, función, etc.)

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and extend across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

Lista de Perfiles

Lista de Plantas

Espacio Arquitectónico C2-_____

MAPA DETALLADO DEL ESPACIO ARQUITECTÓNICO EN ESCALA

(incluye todas las dimensiones, medidas de muros, accesos, flecha norte, punto de datum y elevación, etc.).

RELACIÓN ENTRE CAPAS, LOCUS Y CONTEXTOS. Graficar

Incluye un dibujo y transparencia de perfil en escala con detalle y descripción estratigráfica capa por capa.

Descripción en detalle de cada Capa. Incluye densidad y ubicación de piedras, rellenos (cómo son), intrusiones (cuántas y dónde especificando contenido y relación con pisos y muros), estilos de cerámica presente en cada capa, etc.

Superficie:_____

Capa A:_____

Capa B:_____

Capa C:_____

Capa D:_____

Capa E:_____

HALLAZGOS ESPECIALES

Cerámica (número de HE, número de Locus, y descripción):

Líticos (número de HE, número de Locus, y descripción):

Metales (número de HE, número de Locus, y descripción):

Otras Materiales (número de HE, número de Locus, y descripción):

MUESTRAS ORGÁNICAS

Especificar número de registro y locus:

¿Cuales son buenas para fechar? ¿Porque?

HUESOS

Observaciones sobre huesos de animales (densidad, variedad, condición, etc.):

¿Hay Huesos Humanos?

- 1. Número de locus:**
- 2. Estado de conservación:**

Tumbas: numero y ubicación en el EA. Graficar en croquis.

OTROS ELEMENTOS. Especificar ubicación y condición.

Plataformas, banquetas, pisos modelados, nichos:

Fogones:

Canales:

Otros:

DESCRIPCIÓN DE MUROS Y MEDIDAS

Hacer croquis isométrico con todas las medidas especificadas en él (ancho y altura de muros y vanos). Incluye los números de muros y también los vanos clausurados, muros primarios, secundarios y tardíos.

DESCRIPCIÓN DE CADA MURO.

Muro # _____

Orientación:

Tipo de Piedras: trabajada o natural

Origen de piedras (porcentajes):

volcánica porosa: _____

sedimentaria, lajas : _____

canto rodeado: _____

otras (tipo) _____: _____

Cimentación: sobre la roca madre Sobre piso # _____

¿Rompe el piso? _____

Comentarios (incluye enlucidos, argamasa, # de hileras, etc).

Muro # _____

Orientación:

Tipo de Piedras: trabajada o natural

Origen de piedras (porcentajes):

volcánica porosa: _____

sedimentaria, lajas : _____

canto rodeado: _____

otras (tipo) _____: _____

Cimentación: sobre la roca madre Sobre piso # _____

¿Rompe el piso? _____

Comentarios (incluye enlucidos, argamasa, # de hileras, etc).

Muro # _____

Orientación:

Tipo de Piedras: trabajada o natural

Origen de piedras (porcentajes):

volcánica porosa: _____

sedimentaria, lajas : _____

canto rodeado: _____

otras (tipo) _____: _____

Cimentación: sobre la roca madre Sobre piso # _____

¿Rompe el piso? _____

Comentarios (incluye enlucidos, argamasa, # de hileras, etc).

Muro # _____

Orientación:

Tipo de Piedras: trabajada o natural

Origen de piedras (porcentajes):

volcánica porosa: _____

sedimentaria, lajas : _____

canto rodeado: _____

otras (tipo) _____: _____

Cimentación: sobre la roca madre Sobre piso # _____

¿Rompe el piso? _____

Comentarios (incluye enlucidos, argamasa, # de hileras, etc).

Muro # _____

Orientación:

Tipo de Piedras: trabajada o natural

Origen de piedras (porcentajes):

volcánica porosa: _____

sedimentaria, lajas : _____

canto rodeado: _____

otras (tipo) _____: _____

Cimentación: sobre la roca madre Sobre piso # _____

¿Rompe el piso? _____

Comentarios (incluye enlucidos, argamasa, # de hileras, etc).

Muro # _____

Orientación:

Tipo de Piedras: trabajada o natural

Origen de piedras (porcentajes):

volcánica porosa: _____

sedimentaria, lajas : _____

canto rodeado: _____

otras (tipo) _____: _____

Cimentación: sobre la roca madre Sobre piso # _____

¿Rompe el piso? _____

Comentarios (incluye enlucidos, argamasa, # de hileras, etc).

Espacio Arquitectónico C2-_____

DESCRIPCIÓN DE PISOS / APISONADOS.

Piso / Apisonado # _____
Fabricación: Baro Diatomita Otra (Tipo) _____
Comportamiento (grosura / densidad): _____
Comentarios:

Piso / Apisonado # _____
Fabricación: Baro Diatomita Otra (Tipo) _____
Comportamiento (grosura / densidad): _____
Comentarios:

Piso / Apisonado # _____
Fabricación: Baro Diatomita Otra (Tipo) _____
Comportamiento (grosura / densidad): _____
Comentarios:

Piso / Apisonado # _____
Fabricación: Baro Diatomita Otra (Tipo) _____
Comportamiento (grosura / densidad): _____
Comentarios:

Establecer secuencias de construcción de pisos / apisonados:

FIN DE LA EXCAVACIÓN:

¿Se llegó a la roca madre? Si no llegó, especificar por qué.

INTERPRETACIÓN DEL ESPACIO ARQUITECTÓNICO:

Posibles funciones del EA (especificar las razones para tales inferencias):

¿Que tipos de materiales indican o sugieren estas funciones?

¿A cuantas ocupaciones pudo pertenecer y porque?

¿Como se relaciona con otros espacios arquitectónicos?

Otras observaciones:

[illegible]

CONCHOPATA 2002**INVENTARIO DE FOTOS****ESP. ARQ. C1-_____**

Locus y Capa	Descripción/Tema (material, H.E. #, contexto cultural, etc.)	Grp. Fto.	Diapo (rollo/vista)	Neg (rollo/vista)	Digital (#)	Fecha

APPENDIX C: Field Log Forms

CONCHOPATA 2002: Registro de Entierros

Registro #	Esp. Arq.	Locus	Descripción (articulaciones de huesos, etc.)	# Ind.	Excavó	Fecha

CONCHOPATA 2002

Registro de Muestra Organica

[illegible]

INVENTARIO DE FOTOS

CONCHOPATA 2002

Fecha_____[illegible]

CONCHOPATA 2002: Registro de Espacios Arquitectónicos

Esp. Arg. #	Norte	Este	Descripción	Fecha
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				
C2-				

CONCHOPATA 2002

Registro de Hallazgos Especiales

[illegible]

CONCHOPATA 2002

Registro de Muros

UNSCH, Univ. de Pittsburgh
NSF, Fulbright, National Geographic Society

[illegible]

APPENDIX D: Wari Ceramic and Artifact Types

Ceramic artifacts are ubiquitous at Conchopata which is not surprising since Conchopata had a large pottery production component (Pozzi-Escot 1991). To date, tons of ceramic sherds have been collected. Because ceramic artifacts are so plentiful, a major component of this research focused on the analysis of ceramic vessels. Table 23 shows the total number of sherds analyzed for each room.

Isbell (2002:46) and Isbell & Cook (2002:277) identify four classes of ceramics at Conchopata. The first class consists of everyday utilitarian pottery such as storage jars, bowls, and ollas. The second class consists of dedicatory pottery that was specifically intended as grave offerings for people of high status. The third class consists of oversized vessels, specifically urns and well-made, face-neck jars that were used for ceremonial or ritual purposes such as feasting or ceremonial pot smashing. Finally, the fourth class consists of special, non-utilitarian ceramic objects such as models, whistles, figurines, and musical instruments.

Table 25: Sherd Count per Room

Room	Total Sherds
EA-6	681
EA-9	337
EA-12	275
EA-31	278
EA-36	193
EA-37	29
EA-59	292
EA-64	355
EA-88	705
EA-90	141
EA-105	188
EA-109	216
EA-110	473
EA-132	297
EA-138	388
EA-140	204

Room	Total Sherds
EA-141	283
EA-142	101
EA-147	303
EA-148	284
EA-149	139
EA-150	349
EA-153	252
EA-154	234
EA-178	340
EA-179	287
EA-180	221
EA-181	548
EA-182	187
EA-187	231
EA-189	130
EA-191	149
EA-194	144
EA-195	72
EA-196	309
EA-132	375
EA-38A	102
EA-38B	31
EA-39	322
EA-40A	238
EA-44A	233
EA-44B	106

Ceramic Vessel Forms

At Conchopata, there are four main vessel types (see Table 24). These main vessel types include bowls, jars, ollas, and miniatures. The main miniature types are urns and jars. Other vessel types include cups, such as lyre cups and *keros*; urns; effigy vessels; *incensarios*; and anthropomorphic vessels.

Table 26: Average characteristics per vessel type (in centimeters)

TYPE	HEIGHT	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER
Closed bowl	mean: 6.6 \pm 1.89 5% mean: 6.5 median: 6.8	mean: 11.1 \pm 3.3 5% mean: 10.9 median: 10.5	mean: 8.1 \pm 2.5 5% mean: 8.0 median: 7.0

TYPE	HEIGHT	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER
Open bowl	mean: 6.3 \pm 2.6 5% mean: 6.1 median: 6.2	mean: 17.9 \pm 8.1 5% mean: 17.1 median: 16.0	mean: 9.4 \pm 5.1 5% mean: 8.7 median: 8.0
Jars (excluding miniatures)	mean: 20.8 \pm 28.1 5% mean: 16.9 median: 8 heights range from 9.7 to 111 cm	mean: 15.9 \pm 10.1 5% mean: 15.1 median: 13 rim diameters range from 2 to 60 cm	mean: 11.6 \pm 3.8 5% mean: 11.4 median: 11 base diameters range from 5 to 40 cm
Face-neck jar (excluding miniatures)	mean: 30.1 \pm 28.8 5% mean: 27.2 median: 17 heights ranges from 9.7 to 104 cm	mean: 9.4 \pm 7.7 5% mean: 9.1 median: 9 rim diameters range from 2 to 34 cm	mean: 9.6 \pm 3.6 5% mean: 9.3 median: 9 base diameters range from 5.2 to 19.5 cm
Olla	mean: 21.2 \pm 8.5 5% mean: 21.1 median: 20.1	mean: 13.8 \pm 3.5 5% mean: 13.5 median: 13.0	mean: 10.5 \pm 2.2 5% mean: 10.5 median: 11.0

Bowls mainly have open or closed mouths with relatively flat bases (see Figure 111 and 112), though there are examples of straight-sided bowls. There are also examples of large deep-dish bowls (*tazones*), a few of which had spouts. A category of large open bowls with a course paste has tripod bases. These tripod vessels often contain soot on their interior surface suggesting organic material was burned inside them to provide interior lighting for rooms. Open bowls often have designs on the interior or exterior surface, though there are a few examples of open bowls with designs on both the interior and exterior surfaces. Open bowls sometimes have appendages attached to their exterior surfaces. These appendages are often in the form of an animal head, such as a feline. Many closed bowls had designs on their exterior surfaces. Bowls were probably used to hold both food and drink (Cook & Glowacki 2003:178). In addition, bowls were a common item found in tombs and burials.

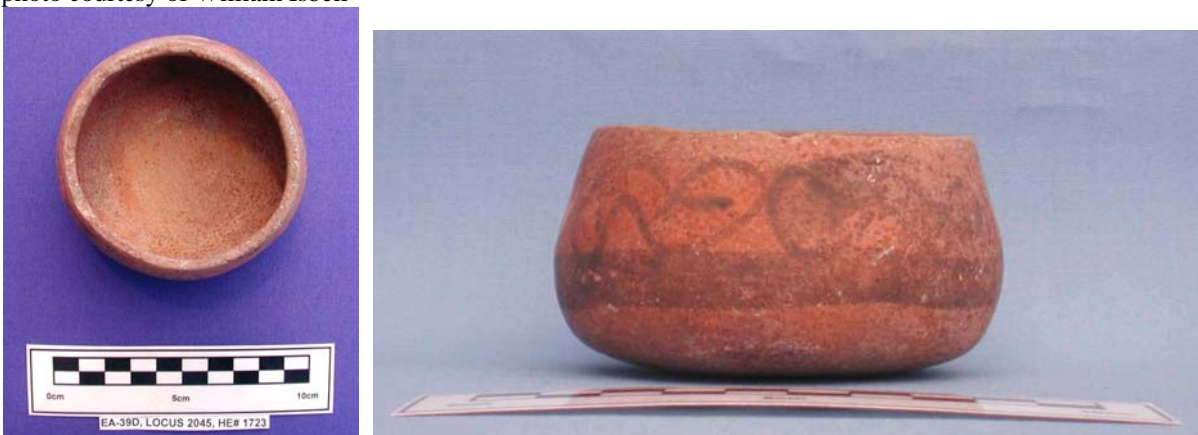
Figure 111: Open bowl (interior and side views) from EA-147, HE#5664 (height = 6.9 cm)*

*photo courtesy of William Isbell



Figure 112: Closed bowl (interior and side views) from EA-39D, HE#1723 (height = 4.5 cm)*

*photo courtesy of William Isbell



Jars come with convergent, divergent, and vertical necks (see Figure 113). They show the greatest variability in size ranging from miniature (~7 cm in height), small (~25 cm in height), medium (~50 cm in height) and large (~1 meter in height). Jars often had designs on their exterior surfaces, with either flat or conical bases. Many rooms had intrusions in the

corners or along the walls. Some of these intrusions may have served as holes into which conical based jars were placed to keep them upright (Cook 2001:147). A common jar type was the face-neck jar, in which a human face was molded or painted onto the neck of a jar (see Figure 114). Jars often had handles placed along the middle of the jar body. Wide-mouthed jars were used to prepare, store, and serve beverages such as *chicha* (Cook & Glowacki 2003:180). Small face-neck jars (less than 30 cm in height) were found in many tombs.

Figure 113: Jar from EA-148, HE#9A (height = 1.1 meters)



Figure 114: Face-neck jars from EA-36, HE#468* (height = 1 meter

*photo courtesy of William Isbell



Ollas, small short-necked jars, often have designs on their exterior surfaces. There are a few examples that have spouts. Other than having a domestic use, ollas were found in several tombs; some of these ollas contained the remains of infants or other types of organic material (see Figure 115).

Figure 115: Olla from EA-31/Burial #9, HE#536 (height = 26.5 cm)*

*photo courtesy of William Isbell



Other types of vessels include drinking vessels and miniatures. Miniature vessels come in a variety of forms, mainly jars and urns (see Figure 116). Drinking vessels included various types of cups, such as lyre-shaped cups (see Figure 117); keros (see Figure 117); and open and closed bowls (Cook & Glowacki 2003:178; Goldstein 2003:151). Cups and keros were rare compared to bowls. Many bowls at Conchopata were made with less care, appearing to be mass produced. In addition, designs on bowls were often somewhat carelessly executed. Cook & Glowacki (2003:195) argue that bowls were probably made in large quantities as feasting-ware provided to laborers during feasting events. More finely made bowls were probably reserved for feasting activity between elites and state administrators.

Figure 116: Mini-jar from EA-39D, HE#1634 (height = 6.4 cm) and mini-urn from EA-147, HE#5984 (height = 3.1 cm)*

*photo courtesy of William Isbell

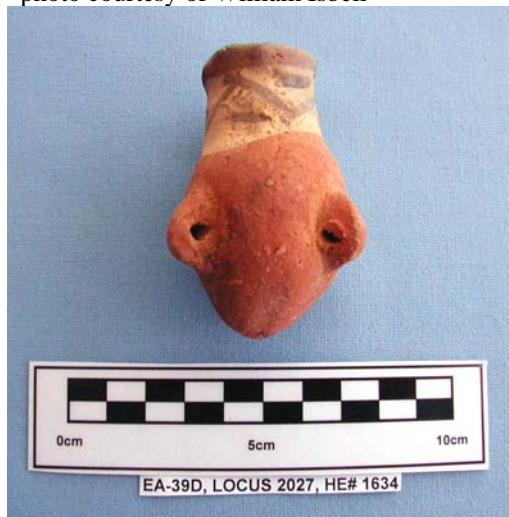


Figure 117: Wari blackware style lyre cup from EA-148, HE#8554 (height = 11.1 cm) and Kero from EA-153, HE#7208 (height = 10.9 cm)*

*photo of HE#7208 courtesy of William Isbell



Wari ceramic styles

Menzel (1964, 1968, 1977) divided Wari ceramic styles into two epochs, each with secular and ceremonial types. Epoch 1 (A.D. 540-700) secular styles were Chakipampa and Okros and the ceremonial styles were Conchopata and Robles Moqo. In Epoch 2 (A.D. 700-800), the secular style was Viñaque and the ceremonial styles were Atarco and Pachacamac (Cook & Glowacki 2003:176-7). At the Wari capital and at Conchopata, Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles are found on oversized urns and face-neck jars (Cook & Glowacki 2003:178).

Huarpa, Okros, and Cruz Pata are early EIP styles. Chakipampa style is divided into early (A) and later (B). At Conchopata, Huamanga was the local style, also considered less fancy Viñaque (Bennett 1953; Cook 2004:159; Florez Espinoza 1959; Lumbreras 1960). According to Menzel's design descriptions, Huamanga represents a secular, often carelessly executed design and Viñaque represents finely executed designs on more fancy pottery. Most of the Chakipampa style at Conchopata is later. Chakipampa, Wari blackware, Huamanga and Viñaque are probably roughly contemporaneous.

Artifact Types

Excavations at Conchopata uncovered numerous artifact types other than the ceramic vessels described above. The overwhelming majority of artifacts found at Conchopata were ceramic sherds. Not surprising, pottery production tools were also ubiquitous. Lithics and groundstone were another category of artifact type. Metal artifacts were also encountered, mainly objects made of copper though there are a few examples of objects made of silver and gold. Another category of artifacts was made of precious stones and shell such as *Spondylus*, lapis lazuli, and chrysocolla. Chrysocolla, often called "turquoise", was a local green colored stone

made into various luxury and high-status objects such as beads and small carved objects. For purposes of this dissertation, objects made from chrysocolla were referred to as greenstone.

Pottery production tools

The most common artifact types were tools associated with pottery production. *Alisadores* (sing., *alisador*; see Figure 118), *paletas* (sing., *paleta*; see Figure 46 above), *broqueles* (sing., *broquel*; see Figure 120), *azadas* (sing., *azada*), and *pulidores* (sing., *pulidor*) were used to scrape, smooth, and burnish the walls of ceramic vessels (Cook & Benco 2001a:490-2; Isbell 2002a:47-8; Isbell & Cook 2002: 278-9). *Alisadores* were usually expedient smoothing tools made of recycled potsherds. *Azadas* and *pulidores* were made of stone.

Figure 118: *Alisadores* from EA-191



There were various types of objects, generically referred to as “potter’s wheels,” were used as work surfaces upon which were placed ceramic vessels as they were being shaped (see Figure 119). The different forms included *mesas*, *tornos*, and *platos alfareros*, all of which were generally circular, flat ceramic objects (Cook & Benco 2001a:491; Isbell 2002a:47; Isbell & Cook 2002:278). For the purposes of this dissertation, all of these “potter’s wheels” were lumped into a single category.

Figure 119: *Mesa* from EA-148, HE#7410A



Figure 120: *Broquel* from EA-186, HE#8366



Ceramic molds were numerous and came in many shapes and sizes. Common molds were used to make whistles; figurines (see Figure 121); faces on face-neck jars (see Figure 122); or small adornments, such as animal heads, to attach onto ceramic vessels.

Figure 121: Figurine mold from EA-186, HE#8363



Figure 122: Face-neck jar mold from EA-191, HE#8899



Lithics and Groundstone

Lithic artifacts included projectile points, knives, drills, scrapers, and composite tools. Groundstone artifacts included polishers, hammerstones, mortars, grinding stones, stone rings (Bencic 2000),

High-Status and Luxury Items

The Wari blackware style consisted of black slipped, highly polished ceramics. Ceramics made in the Wari blackware style were high-status items. Almost all the objects made in the Wari blackware style were open and closed bowls and small face-neck jars (see Figure 53 above).

Luxury items at Conchopata were made of gold, silver, copper, *Spondylus*, greenstone, lapis lazuli, and mother-of-pearl. Gold objects were very rare, consisting of small, circular, thin disks. Some of these disks had holes at one end suggesting they were sewn onto clothing. Silver objects were also rare. They were similarly shaped as the gold disks, though a silver tube (bead?) was also found. The most common copper luxury item was the *tupu*, a shawl pin. A few examples of copper “snuff” spoons were also encountered.

Beads were made out of *Spondylus*, greenstone, lapis lazuli, and bone. *Spondylus* was also carved into small, wedge-shaped objects (see Figure 44 above). Other than beads, greenstone was commonly carved into small geometric shapes, into tiny versions of recognizable objects such as seashells or fruits, or into small figurines. Small, rectangular plaques or adornments were made from a material resembling mother-of-pearl.

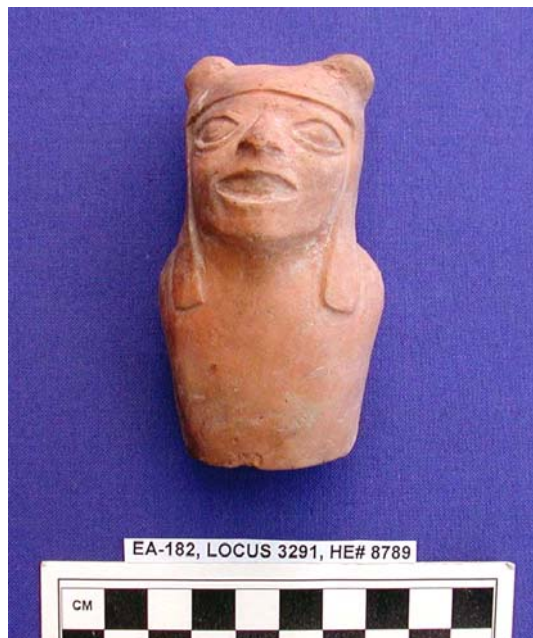
Spinning and Weaving Implements

Evidence for spinning and weaving at Conchopata consisted of spindle whorls and bone and copper tools.

Other Artifact Types

Other common types of artifacts found at Conchopata included musical instruments, ceramic spoons, figurines (see Figure 123), and ceramic models.

Figure 123: Figurine from EA-182, HE#8789



APPENDIX E: Special Find Categories and Codes

Material

1. ceramic
2. semi-precious stone
 1. turquoise (greenstone)
 2. lapis lazuli
3. metal
 1. copper
 2. silver
 3. gold
4. *Spondylus* shell
5. bone
6. diatomaceous rock
7. animal horn
8. stone
9. other shell
10. vegetable material
11. pigment
12. textile
13. clay

Artifact Type

15. other/unidentified
16. adornment
17. needle
18. alisador (potter's tool)
19. animal bone tool
20. clay: firing coil, unfired clay, fired clay
21. broquel (potter's tool)
22. spoon
23. bead
24. figurine: animal, human, human female, human male
25. musical instrument: whistle, flute
26. club/mace head
27. model
28. mold
29. paleta (potter's tool)
30. spindle whorl
31. *Spondylus*: worked in a typical wedge shape, worked (other), raw/unworked
32. plug/stopper
33. potter's wheel
34. shawl pin
35. greenstone: worked (geometric shapes), carved (shell, fruit, ax, etc), raw

APPENDIX F: Diagnostic Ceramic Vessel Analysis Categories and Codes

Artifact number (each architectural space begins with 1, 2, 3...)

Locus

Vessel type

1. unidentified
2. incurving bowl (closed mouth)
3. open bowl (open mouth)
 1. with built-in straw
 2. with tripod base
 3. with rounded walls
 4. with straight walls
4. jar
 1. face-neck
 2. convergent neck
 3. divergent neck
 4. vertical neck
 5. composite neck
5. plate
6. olla
 1. with spout
7. “vase”
 1. lyre cup
 2. with raised band around body
8. *tazon* (deep dish bowl)
 1. with spout
9. urn
10. miniature
 1. jar
 2. urn/open bowl
 3. with spout
 4. olla
 5. closed bowl
 6. “teapot”
 7. with built-in straw
 8. face-neck jar
11. bottle
12. effigy vase
13. cup
14. anthropomorphic vessel

Number # of fragments

Vessel height

Surface finish (interior surface, exterior surface)

1. rough
2. smooth
3. low polish
4. burnished
5. polished
6. eroded/unknown

Slip (interior surface, exterior surface)

1. none
2. red
3. black
4. Okros orange
5. cream
6. white
7. red-yellow
8. gray
9. brown
10. yellow-red
11. dark red
12. red brown
13. beige
14. orange

Rim diameter (interior diameter, centimeters)

" thickness (centimeters)

" shape

1. rounded
2. flat
3. beveled
4. thickened
5. scallop

" surface decoration (see *surface decoration categories*)

Base diameter (centimeters)

" thickness (centimeters)

" shape

1. concave
2. flat
3. cone
4. convex
 1. slightly convex
 2. pointed
5. tripod
6. oval
7. oval/rounded with supports

Surface decoration categories

1. incision
 1. potter's mark
 2. lines
 3. circles
2. punctation
3. appendage
 1. human face
 2. animal face
 3. anthropomorphic face
 4. unidentified
4. face-neck modeling
 1. eye
 2. mouth
 3. nose
 4. ear
 5. chin
5. raised band
6. high relief

8. "teacup" base

Handle form

1. vertical strap
2. horizontal strap
3. unknown strap
4. basket
5. lug
6. lug with holes
7. unidentified

Handle location

1. rim-rim
2. rim-neck
3. rim-body
4. neck-neck
5. neck-body
6. body-body
7. rim-?
8. neck-?
9. body-?
10. unidentified

Body sherd thickness

" " surface decoration (see *surface decoration categories*)

Design elements (interior, exterior): over 100 design elements were identified and coded

Design colors (interior, exterior)

1. black
2. white
3. cream
4. red
5. gray
6. brown
7. yellow
8. beige
9. dark red
10. purple
11. orange
12. red-brown
13. Okros orange
14. red-yellow
15. pink

Visual: drawing (check box if artifact was drawn)

Visual: photo (check box if artifact was photographed)

Style

1. Unknown
2. Huarpa
3. Okros
4. Chakipampa A
5. Conchopata
6. Huamanga
7. Chakipampa B
8. Robles Moqo
8. Wari blackware
10. Viñaque
11. Chakipampa
12. Cruz Pata
13. Acuchimay zigzag
14. Aqo Wayqo

Other

1. evidence for cooking (charred surface)
2. evidence for use/wear
3. design outlined in black
4. design outlined in white/cream
5. surface encrustation
6. micaceous paste

Observations

APPENDIX G: Microsoft Access Database Variables for Ceramic Vessel Artifacts

EA #	Architectural Space Number
Multiple EA	1 = "No" if the artifact does NOT come from more than one EA; 2 = "Yes" if the artifact comes from more than one EA
Locus	Locus number
Multiple Loci	1 = "No" if the artifact does NOT come from more than one locus; 2 = "Yes" if it does
Cultural Context	1 = fill; 2 = surface level; 3 = ash; 4 = floor; 5 = bench; 6 = ceramic concentration; 7 = hearth; 8 = intrusion; 9 = doorway; 10 = other; 11 = burial; 12 = fill with animal bones; 13 = offering; 14 = concentration of rocks; 15 = fill with diatomaceous rocks; 16 = other; 17 = compact surface
Artifact Number	Diagnostic sherd (EA#-Artf#) or special find number (HE#)
Vessel Type	Type of vessel
Vessel Height	Height of vessel
Total Fragments	Total number of fragments represented
Surface tx-int	Treatment of the interior surface
Surface tx-ext	Treatment of the exterior surface
Slip-int	Interior background color of the vessel
Slip-ext	Exterior background color of the vessel
Rim diameter	Diameter of the rim
Rim width	Width of the rim
Rim form	Form of the rim
Rim decoration	Type of decoration on the rim
Base diameter	Diameter of the base
Base width	Width of the base
Base form	Form of the base
Base decoration	Type of decoration on the vase
Handle form	Form of the handle
Handle location	Location of the handle on the vessel
Body width	Width of the sherd
Body decoration	Type of decoration on the body sherd
Int des elem(P/A)	Presence of design elements on interior of artifact/vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
Ext des elem (P/A)	Presence of design elements on exterior of artifact/vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DE 2 (P/A)	Presence of design element #2 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE2 = Huamanga step design with line in corner
INT DE3 (P/A)	Presence of design element #3 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE3 = Huamanga step design with triangle in corner
INT DE4 (P/A)	Presence of design element #4 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE4 = Huamanga step design with cross in corner

INT DE5 (P/A)	Presence of design element #5 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE5 = Huamanga step design with unknown design in corner
INT DE9 (P/A)	Presence of design element #9 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE9 = Chevron band
INT DE10 (P/A)	Presence of design element #10 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE10 = "S" band
INT DE12 (P/A)	Presence of design element #12 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE12 = Triangle band
INT DE36 (P/A)	Presence of design element #36 on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE36 = Pendant Wing
INT DE-A (P/A)	Presence of design element "A" on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE-A = Other bands (#13, 14, 15, 16, 34, 44)
INT DE-B (P/A)	Presence of design element "B" on interior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE-B = Special things (91, 95, 101, 83)
EXT DE2 (P/A)	Presence of design element #2 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE2 = Huamanga step design with line in corner
EXT DE3 (P/A)	Presence of design element #3 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE3 = Huamanga step design with triangle in corner
EXT DE4 (P/A)	Presence of design element #4 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE4 = Huamanga step design with cross in corner
EXT DE5 (P/A)	Presence of design element #5 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE5 = Huamanga step design with unknown design in corner
EXT DE9 (P/A)	Presence of design element #9 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE9 = Chevron band
EXT DE10 (P/A)	Presence of design element #10 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE10 = "S" band
EXT DE12 (P/A)	Presence of design element #12 on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE12 = Triangle band
EXT DE-A (P/A)	Presence of design element "A" on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE-A = Other bands (#13, 14, 15, 16, 34, 44)
EXT DE-B (P/A)	Presence of design element "B" on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DE-B = uncommon designs (91, 95, 101, 83)
EXT DE-C (P/A)	Presence of design element "C" on exterior of vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"; DEC = uncommon designs (47, 50, 55, 57, 63, 64, 85, 87, 92, 100, 106)
INT DC-N (P/A)	Presence of the color black on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-BI (P/A)	Presence of the color white on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-C (P/A)	Presence of the color cream on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"

INT DC-R (P/A)	Presence of the color red on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-G (P/A)	Presence of the color gray on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-Gr (P/A)	Presence of the color dark red on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-Na (P/A)	Presence of the color naranja on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-RY (P/A)	Presence of the color red-yellow on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
INT DC-Other (P/A)	Presence of the colors BROWN, YELLOW, BEIGE, PURPLE, RED-BROWN, OKROS, or PINK on the interior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-N (P/A)	Presence of the color black on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-BI (P/A)	Presence of the color white on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-C (P/A)	Presence of the color cream on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-R (P/A)	Presence of the color red on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-G (P/A)	Presence of the color gray on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-Gr (P/A)	Presence of the color dark red on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-Na (P/A)	Presence of the color orange on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-RY (P/A)	Presence of the color red-yellow on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
EXT DC-Other (P/A)	Presence of the colors BROWN, YELLOW, BEIGE, PURPLE, RED-BROWN, OKROS, or PINK on the exterior of the vessel: 1 = "No"; 2 = "Yes"
Style	Style of vessel based on design
Other	Other information
Observations	

APPENDIX H: Description of Architectural Spaces

A total of 40 architectural spaces (*espacio arquitectónico*, “EA”) were analyzed. Most of these rooms exhibited evidence of looting in the form of intrusions in the floor or disturbed burials, or disturbance due to modern-day construction activity. These rooms were analyzed individually and were divided into five zones (See Table 26).

Table 27: Architectural Spaces within each zone.

Zone	EAs
1 (west)	9, 12, 187
2 (south)	153, 178, 179, 180
3 (north)	109, 110, 138, 154
4 (east)	148, 149, 150, 181, 182, 189, 191
5 (center)	6, 31, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40A, 44A, 44B, 59, 64, 88, 90, 105, 132, 140, 141, 142, 147, 194, 195, 196

Zone 1

Three architectural spaces were analyzed in this zone: EA-9, EA-12 and EA-187.

EA-9

Dimensions: 4.12m x 3.35m

Floor area = 13.8 m²

Notable features: bedrock tomb, potter’s offering, hearth, canal

EA-9 was probably an interior patio. It has two entrances: one in the western end of the north wall and one in the eastern end of the south wall. There was a bench/capstone in the northwest corner of the patio beneath which was a tomb. This tomb was located beneath the patio floor and was dug into bedrock; it contained multiple individuals.

The capstone projected diagonally rather than perpendicular into the room from the west wall. This lack of careful construction is in keeping with the rest of the space, in that the walls are not at 90° angles.

A canal ran beneath the floor of this patio along the south wall. The field notes indicate that a hearth was located in the northeast corner of the room. A pit containing a possible offering of potter’s tools was located along the middle of the north wall. Amongst the potter’s offering were 12 intact molds, 2 intact whistles, and a nearly intact open bowl.

EA-12

Dimensions: 2.2m x 3.8m

Area = 8.36 m²

Notable features: bench, canal

EA-12 was probably a domestic/workshop space. It had one doorway in the middle of the north wall which led into EA-28, a small patio. The most outstanding feature of this room was a half-circular bench located in the middle of the west wall. This bench is similar to the one found in EA-140. A canal runs along the south wall below floor level.

EA-187

Dimensions: 2.4m x 2.2m

Area: 5.28 m²

Notable features: camelid offerings, camelid burial with offering hole, human remains

EA-187 was probably originally used for special activity, then later used for domestic activity. It had access to the EA-9 patio through a doorway at the west end of the south wall. The walls of this rooms were originally plastered, probably in association with its first use as a ceremonial space.

This room was very disturbed and looted. Human bones were scattered throughout the fill in the southeast corner of the room. Two large intrusions were along the east wall may have held human burials; alternatively, they may have held camelid offerings. One intact camelid offering was found in the center of the room beneath the first constructed floor. An offering hole in the floor led to the camelid offering. This room also had four other possible camelid offerings.

Possible sequence of events: Originally this space had three walls with its north side open. An offering pit was dug out of bedrock in the center of the room and a juvenile camelid was sacrificed and place into the pit. A based of loose pebbly fill was laid down and a plastered floor was constructed. In the middle of the floor an offering hole was made that allowed access to the camelid offering below. Later, a second plastered floor was constructed above the first floor. During this construction, a doorway was constructed in the south wall and a north wall was constructed to close off the space. With the construction of this second floor, a camelid offering was placed in a pit in front of the doorway and another in the southwest corner of the room.

Burning activity took place in the western area of the room as evidence by the burnt surface of the floor and ash/charcoal stains on the floor. Because this burning activity was located in front of the doorway, it may have been associated with the closing/abandonment of this space.

Zone 2

The following architectural spaces were analyzed in the south zone: EA-153, EA-178, EA-178, EA-180.

EA-153

Dimensions: 2.35m x 4.12m

Area = 9.68m

Notable features: *Spondylus*/greenstone offering in bench, tombs with bench/capstones and offering hole

EA-153 was a mortuary room. The above-floor fill consisted of ash, suggesting this room was intentionally closed off prior to abandonment. The two sub-floor tombs located along the southern wall were disturbed. Each tomb had a bench/capstone above it.

This room had one doorway at the south end of the east wall. The southern one-third of the room was about 2 to 4 cm higher than the rest of the floor. Along the south wall were two bench/capstones above bedrock tombs. The bench/capstone in the southwest corner of the room had a plastered surface with remnants of red paint. This capstone measured about 80 x 85 cm and was at least 70 cm high.

Along the center of the south wall was a small square-shaped bench/capstone with rounded edges. This capstone had an offering hole in its center, though this offering hole did not allow direct access to the tomb beneath.

A third bench was located along the center of the north wall. This bench was about 60 cm long, extended 34 cm south from the north wall, and was about 10 cm high. This bench had an intact offering in it filled with *Spondylus* and greenstone objects. The upper half contained mostly *Spondylus* whereas the lower half contained mainly greenstone objects. Many of the greenstone objects were placed in the bench in pairs. The greenstone objects were carved into geometric shapes (triangles, circles, rectangles, etc.) or into common objects (seashells, "llama" figurine, maize, etc.).

EA-178

Dimensions: 2.04m x 3.26m

Area = 6.65 m²

Notable features: two cist tombs, bench with offering hole

Because of modern construction activity to the south of this room, the south wall was never found. The only doorway was in the far west corner of the north wall, none of the walls were plastered, and two floors were encountered.

A bench was located along the north wall of this room. It measure 2.05m x 1m and was about 40 cm high. In the side of the bench, located slightly off-center, was a small square offering hole (13cm x 13cm) that extended diagonally into the bench and connected to the cist tomb located beneath the west side of the bench.

Two circular, cist tombs dug into bedrock were found beneath the bench, one on the west side and one on the east. Both tombs contained multiple individuals of both sexes and a range of ages. Both were disturbed/looted.

EA-179

Dimensions: 2.3m x 3.25m

Area = 7.48 m²

Notable features: tomb, bench/capstone

This room exhibited evidence of modern disturbance (cigarette butts; plastic bag at 0.93cm below datum and another plastic bag at 1.35 cm below datum). Because of modern construction activity to the south of this room, the south wall was never found. No doorway was found though it was probably located in the south wall.

The large tomb was a deep pit excavated into bedrock. Despite the huge tomb and numerous individuals present, there were relatively few artifacts in the tomb suggesting that it was heavily looted. The tomb was located beneath the floor along the west wall, and evidence indicates that there was a bench/capstone along most of the west wall above the tomb. Several fragments of plaster painted with red pigment were found suggesting that the bench was painted red. This tomb contained multiple individuals of both sexes range from infants to old adults (MNI = 32). Most of the human remains were disarticulated; some bones were articulated suggesting that when the tomb was looted, skeletons were pushed to the sides.

EA-180

Dimensions: 2.67m x 2.28m

Area = 6.09 m²

Notable features: hearth, camelid offering

EA-180 was a domestic space. Three floors were encountered and part of the north wall was plastered. It had a single doorway in the south wall. This room had a small hearth in the southwest corner, next to the doorway. A camelid offering was encountered in the southeast corner of the room beneath the first constructed floor.

Zone 3

Four architectural spaces were analyzed in this zone: EA-109, EA-110, EA-138 and EA-154.

This zone is very disturbed by both looting and modern construction activities. Modern construction activity has been heavy in this area, and a trench cuts through the middle of this zone. A belt buckle was found well below the ground surface in one of the rooms in this zone (EA-187, which was not analyzed). Isbell (2006:70) states that the belt buckle dates to the 19th or early 20th c.

EA-109

Dimensions: 2.85m x 1.9m

Area = 5.42m²

Notable features: None

EA-109 was probably a passageway that led into the EA-98 Wari patio group. It had a doorway at the east end of the north wall, in the west end of the south wall, and in the south end of the east wall. The east wall was built on top of the plastered floor. Prior to the construction of this east wall, EA-109 was part of a long gallery that ran east-west across the north side of the EA-98 Wari patio group.

EA-110

Dimensions: 3.35m x 2.0m

Area = 6.7m²

Notable features: tomb

EA-110 was a mortuary room. Its contexts were very disturbed and heavily looted. A modern trench cuts through the north side of the room. EA-110 had two doorways, one at the east end of the north wall and one in the middle of the south wall. The walls and floor were plastered, and traces of red paint were found on some of the walls.

This room had a huge bedrock tomb located along the south wall. However, this room was so disturbed that the tomb and its contexts were virtually impossible to reconstruct or interpret. Very few artifacts were encountered. Human skeletal remains were scattered throughout this room, some of which had red pigment on their surfaces.

EA-138

Dimensions: 1.94m x 4.42m

Area = 8.57m²

Notable features: tombs

EA-138 was a mortuary room. It was very disturbed and looted, and a modern trench cuts through the middle of this room. The walls and floor of this room were plastered. It had a doorway at the north end of the west wall and one at the south end of the east wall. Human skeletal remains were scattered throughout this space.

This room contained at least four sub-floor, circular, stone-lined cists. All the burials were dug deep into bedrock in the southern half of the room. A bench/capstone was located along the west wall; beneath this bench was a cist tomb. Another bench/capstone was located along the center of the east wall and had a cist tomb beneath it. One of the tombs in this room contained gold.

EA-154

Dimensions: 1.5m x 3.94m

Area = 5.91m

Notable features: child bench burial, camelid offering, bench

EA-154 was probably used as a domestic/workshop space. It had two doorways, one at the south end of the west wall and the other at the south end of the east wall. A bench covered the entire north half of the room.

The floor in this room continued into the rooms to the east and west (EA-167 and EA-165). Beneath this floor was an earlier floor and wall. The early wall ran along most of the length of the west wall. Beneath the earlier floor, in the southeast corner of the room, was a disturbed human burial. The artifacts associated with this burial place it in the Early Intermediate Period.

A child was buried in the northwest corner of the bench. The child was in a flexed position sitting on the floor with its face looking southeast with several fragments of a ceramic jar placed on its head. A camelid offering was placed in the northeast corner of the bench. Both the child burial and the camelid offering were placed in the bench after it was constructed.

Zone 4

The following rooms were analyzed in the east zone: EA148, EA-149, EA-150, EA-181, EA-189, EA-191.

EA-148

Dimensions: 3.92m x 3.27

Area = 12.82m

Notable features: bench with offering hole, intentional ceramic smash, pit filled with animal bones, two sub-floor ceramic offerings, camelid offering, guinea pig offerings

EA-148 was probably a small patio. This patio produced several intact features and provides important information on some of the ceremonial activities that took place at this site. This patio had a doorway at the west end of the south wall and one at the north end of the west wall. The doorway in the west wall was closed off.

A bench was located along most of the east wall. This bench was constructed in two levels, with the northern two-thirds of the bench a few centimeters higher than the southern one-third of the bench. There was an offering hole in the center of the bench. Within this offering hole were a nearly complete *Spondylus* shell and an intact potter's tool. This is the only bench at Conchopata that had an offering hole but no burial beneath it.

On the floor of this room was an intentional ceramic smash. In the approximate center of the room, was an intact ceramic offering placed beneath the floor. A pit was dug through the floor into bedrock. Within this pit was placed 25 intact ceramic vessels. The offering was capped with two large, flat oval-shaped groundstone slabs. To the north of this ceramic offering was a shallow pit filled with animal bones.

EA-148 was contemporary with EA-181; they share a doorway and floor. However, unlike EA-181 which was almost completely looted, EA-148 was intact. The walls of EA-148 were plastered, though only from the floor up to about 50 cm.

Possible sequence of events: EA-148 was constructed at the same time as the final occupation of EA-181. At this time, several offerings were placed beneath the floor of EA-148: three cuy offerings, a camelid offering, and an olla. After these offerings were made, the floor and bench were constructed (along with the floor and bench in EA-181). Prior to the abandonment of EA-148, an elaborate ceremony took place. A pit was dug through the center of the floor into bedrock and an offering of 25 ceramic vessels was placed in the pit. The ceramic vessels were almost entirely serving vessels (cups, open bowls, large open bowls, a “teapot”). Two long flat stones were placed above the ceramic offering to seal it. These 25 ceramic vessels were used in an earlier feasting event. After the feast, animal bones were discarded in shallow pit located along the north wall, and the 25 ceramic vessels were placed in an offering pit. The ceremony ended with the placement of several artifacts on the floor which were then covered by intentionally smashed large jars and other ceramic vessels. The room was ceremonially closed with an ashy soil.

EA-149

Dimensions: 2.42m x 2.84m

Area = 6.67m²

Notable features: hearth, offerings of *Spondylus* and greenstone

EA-149 was probably a domestic space. It had a single doorway located in the middle of the east wall. This room had a large number of greenstone and *Spondylus* beads and objects on the floor and in several of the intrusions in the floor. *Spondylus* and greenstone are usually found in tombs or rooms with tombs. Because greenstone and *Spondylus* were precious items, the placement of the beads on the floor and in the intrusions was probably intentional and related to a ceremonial closing of the room. A possible hearth was located in along the east wall next to the doorway.

EA-150

Dimensions: 2.85m x 3.06m

Area: 8.72m²

Notable features: offering house, tomb

EA-150 was a mortuary room. It had a doorway at the west end of the south wall and one in the north wall. The entire room was plastered, including the inside of the offering house. The west wall shows evidence that the room was remodeled several times as there are several layers of plaster.

This room contained a large offering house along its west wall. This offering house had a rounded cornice, a small trapezoidal opening to access its interior, and an offering hole in the middle of its floor that allowed access to a large tomb beneath it. Traces of red paint were found

on the exterior surface of offering house. The trapezoidal opening had small holes around it indicating that some sort of adornment or panel was originally attached to the offering house. The tomb beneath the structure was dug into bedrock. Some of the human bones in the tomb had traces of cinnabar on them. This tomb was one of two tombs at the site in which gold was found. Despite having been looted, many unusual artifacts were recovered.

EA-181

Dimensions: 4.3m x 2.51m

Area = 10.79m²

Notable features: bench

EA-181 was probably used as a domestic/workshop space. It had a doorway at the west end of the north wall and one at the west end of the south wall. The walls in this room were plastered. A bench was located along the west wall.

EA-182

Dimensions: 2.2m x 3.3m

Area: 7.26m²

Notable features: bench, hearth, offering of greenstone and *Spondylus*

EA-182 was probably a domestic/workshop space. It had one door in the middle of the west wall that led into EA-149 and another possible doorway at the east end of the north wall.

This room had a hard, irregular, compacted surface along the northern two-thirds of the room. This surface was encountered quite high above the floor of the room. Beneath this compact surface was a huge concentration of large rocks, similar to that found in EA-132. It is doubtful that this rock concentration was wall fall because the compact surface above it contained precious objects such as greenstone and *Spondylus*; because greenstone and *Spondylus* are high-status, luxury items, they were probably intentionally placed within the compact surface as it was being constructed. The rock concentration was probably the foundation for the compact surface above it.

A “hearth” was located in the southeast corner of the room. It was a feature filled with a very ashy gray soil containing fire cracked rocks, some burnt and unburnt bone, lithics and a few ceramics. Along the southern wall was a bench that may have extended the entire length of the wall.

EA-189

Dimensions: 4.43m x 2.18m

Area: 9.66m²

Notable features: potter’s offering, pits filled with animal bones

EA-189 was probably used as a domestic/workshop space. It had a doorway in the south end of the east wall and another in the center of the south wall. The walls were plastered. The east wall is a secondary wall that was built to separate a long rectangular space into two smaller spaces (EA-189 and EA-191).

Many potter's tools were found associated with the floor. In addition, two pits filled with animal bones were found, one along the center of the north wall and one in the northeast corner of the room.

EA-191

Dimensions: 3.95m x 2.03m

Area: 8.02m²

Notable features: burial, pit filled with animal bones

EA-191 was probably a domestic/workshop space. It had a doorway at the south end of its west wall and one in the middle of the south wall. There was a pit filled with animal bones in the northwest corner of the room. An intact burial was found in northeast corner of EA-191.

Zone 5

The following rooms were analyzed in the central zone: EA-6, EA-31, EA-36, EA-37, EA-39, EA-40A, EA-44A, EA-44B, EA-59, EA-64, EA-88, EA-90, EA-105, EA-132, EA-140, EA-141, EA-142, EA-147, EA-194, EA-195 and EA-196.

EA-6

Dimensions: 6.71m x 4.14m

Area = 27.78m²

Notable features: tomb with bench/capstone and offering hole, camelid offering, sub-floor burial of a child, red floor, bench

EA-6 was a patio with a red clay floor. Beneath the red clay finish was a plastered floor. This patio had one entrance in the middle of the north wall and one entrance at the west end of the south wall.

EA-6 contained a small bench/capstone in the northeast corner beneath which was a bedrock tomb with multiple individuals. The capstone measured about 1.6 x 1.4 meters in diameter. This capstone had a small offering hole that may have allowed access to the tomb below. A child burial was found beneath the floor just north of the tomb. The floor was broken through and the child was placed into a pit dug into the floor.

Another bench was present against the east wall just south of the tomb. This bench appears to have been rectangular in shape. However, most of it had been destroyed. Also of note was a camelid offering found beneath the floor along the middle of the south wall. Several intrusions were encountered in the red floor, but nothing of note was recovered from them.

EA-40A

Dimensions: 2.04m x 5.04m

Area = 10.28m²

Notable features: tomb, bench

It is unclear what EA-40A was used for though it was probably a domestic/workshop space. It had a bench in the middle third of the room that extended across the entire width of the room from east to west and rose about 16 cm high. Half of the doorway entrance was obstructed by this bench. Three floors were found in this room. Beneath the last constructed floor, close to and parallel to the north wall, was an early wall. A camelid offering was made prior to the construction of the first floor in this room. A disturbed sub-floor, bedrock tomb was located in the northeastern corner of the room.

EA-59

Dimensions: 3.4m x 1.6m

Area = 5.44m²

Notable features: canal

EA-59 was probably used as a domestic space. It had a canal below the floor along the north wall. It had a doorway at the east end of the south wall and one at the south end of the west wall. This room had 3 or 4 floors.

EA-64

Dimensions: 2.8m x 6.12m

Area = 17.14m²

Notable features: several benches, burials, *Spondylus*/guinea pig offering, camelid offering, smashed ceramic offering

EA-64 was probably a patio and was used for special activity. Its walls were plastered. There was a doorway in the center of the east wall and another located at the south end of the west wall. A large ceramic smash was encountered on the floor on the north side of the room. Most of the ceramics appear to have been undecorated plainware pottery. Intrusions in the floor along the east wall contained at least two camelid offerings.

EA-64 contained several benches along the south and west walls. These benches were superimposed on each other. Beneath the bench along the south wall were at least two looted burials. An intrusion in the floor along the middle of the west wall contained an offering of guinea pig and 14 pieces of worked *Spondylus*.

EA-90

Dimensions: 2.66m x 3.92m

Area = 10.43m²

Notable features: bench

EA-90 probably served as a domestic space. It had a single doorway at the north end of its west wall. The southern half of the room consisted of a low bench built on top of the floor. Another floor was encountered beneath this floor.

EA-105

Dimensions: 5.2m x 2.55m

Area = 13.26m²

Notable features: freestanding bench with offering hole, tomb

EA-105 was probably a mortuary room. It had a doorway in the middle of its north wall, one in the middle of its south wall, and a possible doorway at the south end of the east wall.

At the west of EA-105 was a freestanding bench. This bench measured 65 cm wide, 1.2 meters long, and 25 cm high. Beneath this bench was an intact tomb. Some of the plastered floor around this bench had traces of red paint. Excavation of the bench revealed that it had undergone at least two construction phases. It appears that the tomb was first constructed and closed, after which a square bench was built above it (represented by the southern half of the bench). The first bench contained a shallow offering hole in its top center. However, this hole did not extend into the tomb below it. Inside this offering hole were several pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*, greenstone and a piece of wood. It is possible that this offering hole was originally visible, and offerings were placed in it. Alternatively, the *Spondylus*, greenstone and wood artifact were placed in the offering hole, then the top of the bench was sealed over. In addition, another offering hole was placed in the front side of the bench. At a later point, the tomb had been reopened to place another individual(s), was sealed, and the bench was doubled in size in order to cover the top of the tomb. Another offering hole was placed in the front side of this newly constructed portion of the bench. None of these three offering holes allowed direct access to the tomb below.

EA-132

Dimensions: 2.05m x 5.6m

Area = 11.48m²

Notable features: storage-like area

EA-132 was probably a domestic/workshop space. The floor was plastered. This northern end of the room was walled off into a small storage-like area. Access to this area was through an opening at the east end of the south wall. EA-132 had two doorways, one in the center of the east wall and one at the south end of the west wall.

A concentration of potter's tools was found in the storage area. Just south of this potter's context were several mortars, metates and grindingstones on the floor of the room. This room was mainly filled with an ashy soil, suggesting it was intentionally closed upon abandonment.

EA-140

Dimensions: 4.85m x 2.3m

Area = 11.16m²

Notable features: two benches, hearth

EA-140 probably served as a domestic/workshop space. It had three doorways, one in the middle of the west wall, one in the middle of the east wall, and another possible doorway located in the center of the south wall. This room had mud plastered walls and a hard packed earthen floor. The mud plaster on the walls only extended about 50 cm up from the floor.

There was a bench along the east wall that spanned the eastern one-third of the room. There was also a circular bench jutting out from the center of the north wall. This bench was concave, with its rim higher than the central area, and sat just above bedrock. A hearth was located in the northwest corner of the room. This hearth was on top of the floor and an arc of stones closed it off and confined it to the northwest corner.

EA-147

Dimensions: 2.05m x 5.9m

Area = 12.1m²

Notable features: two benches, infant/child burials

EA-147 was probably a domestic/workshop space though it was used for special activity at some point. It had one doorway in the center of the east wall and one possible doorway at the north end of the west wall.

A bench was located along the entire length of the south wall. Within this bench were at least five child burials, four of which were intact. Though destroyed, there was another bench located along the entire length of the north wall.

EA-194

Dimensions: 2.18m x 2.25m

Area: 4.91m²

Notable features: hearth

EA-194 was probably used as a domestic space. It had a doorway at the west end of its north wall and one in the center of the west wall. This room was filled with ash suggesting it was intentionally closed off upon abandonment. This room had a hearth in the southwest corner of the room. Another interesting feature was a circular intrusion through the dirt floor that was filled with a cream-colored, sterile soil.

EA-195

Dimensions: 2.04m x 1.91m

Area: 3.9m²

Notable features: none

EA-195 probably served as a domestic space. It had a single doorway located in the southwest corner of the south wall. It had the same stratigraphy as EA-194. EA-195 was filled with an ashy soil suggesting it was intentionally closed off upon abandonment.

EA-196

Dimensions: 1.84m x 1.58m

Area: 2.91m²

Notable features: none

EA-196 was probably a passageway. This room has two doorways that face each other, one in the northern end of the west wall and one in the northern end of the east wall.

Mortuary Complex “A”

Mortuary Complex “A” consisted of the following rooms: EA-31, EA-36, EA-37, EA-38, EA-44A, and EA-44B.

EA-31

Dimensions: 5.14m x 2.17m

Area = 11.15m²

Notable features: sub-floor tombs, bench, ceramic smash

EA-31 was a room that was part of Mortuary Complex “A.” It was through EA-31 that one entered the mortuary complex. Entrance into the mortuary complex was through the north at the west end of the north wall and another doorway was located in the center of its south wall which led into EA-44A.

EA-31 had plastered walls. Fragments of decorated plaster were recovered from this room; one decorated fragment of plastered had a feline motif. This room had a ceramic smash on its floor.

Within this room were two benches, one along the entire west wall and one along the east wall. The east bench had traces of red pigment on its surface. Beneath the east bench were several burials, one of which was intact. An offering hole was located in the floor along the north wall that may have allowed access to a burial below. Some human bones were covered with red pigment.

EA-36

Dimensions: 2.54m x 4m

Area = 10.16m²

Notable features: ceramic smash, pit filled with animal bones, *Spondylus* offering

EA-36 was another room in Mortuary Complex "A." It had a single doorway in the middle of its west wall which allowed access into EA-44A. This room had a intentional ceramic smash located in the center of the room on the floor. Two intrusions in the floor along the north wall were filled with animal bones. The bones were not articulated and some were burnt.

Two pieces of worked *Spondylus* were found in the west wall just north of the doorway at floor level. A carbon sample embedded in the floor of this room dated to A.D. 685 to 870 (calibrated at 1 sigma).

EA-37

Dimensions: 2.7m x 0.74m

Area = 2.0m²

Notable features: tombs

EA-37 was a small room in Mortuary Complex "A;" alternatively, this small space was an offering house. The doorway of this space was located in the middle of the south wall. The walls of this room were plastered. Beneath the floor were two tombs dug into bedrock. Very little cultural material was found.

EA-38

Dimensions: 0.94m x 0.92m

Area = 0.86m²

Notable features: offering house with offering hole, cist tombs

EA-38 was a room in Mortuary Complex "A." It had a single doorway in the north end of the east wall. In the southeast corner of the room was an offering house designated EA-38B. This offering house was built above a stone-lined, circular cist tomb dug into bedrock. This tomb was looted. The offering house had an offering hole along the center of the east edge that allowed access to the tomb beneath.

EA-44A

Dimensions: 4.3m x 2.0m

Area = 8.6m²

Notable features: camelid burials, possible human burials

EA-44A was the central room in Mortuary Complex "A." This room allowed access into all the other rooms. This room had plastered walls and floor. Two floors were encountered.

A possible human burial was located beneath the floor in the northeast corner of this room. This burial was dug into bedrock. Another possible burial was located in the southeast corner of the room. Two camelid offerings were placed along the north wall; a floor was constructed above these camelid offerings. Both of these offerings were placed in pits that were dug through the first constructed floor.

EA-44B

Dimensions: 3.8m x 1.4m

Area = 5.32m²

Notable features: offering house with offering hole, tomb

EA-44B was a room in Mortuary Complex “A.” It was very disturbed and many features were destroyed. It had an offering house along the west wall beneath which was a stone-lined, circular cist tomb. A tomb was located beneath the floor along the east wall. The walls to this room were plastered.

Mortuary Complex B

Mortuary Complex “B” consisted of the following rooms: EA-39, EA-88, EA-141, and EA-142.

EA-39

Dimensions: 2.84m x 4.04m

Area = 11.47m²

Notable features: two offering houses above cist tombs (at least one had an offering hole), cist tomb with bench/capstone, two sub-floor burial chambers, circular bench, bedrock tomb

EA-39 was a mortuary room and the main burial chamber in Mortuary Complex “B.” It had several tombs beneath its floor, none of which were intact. This room was subdivided into four spaces: EA-39A, EA-39B, EA-39C, and EA-39D. It may one room of a possible mortuary complex (Mortuary Complex “B”). Along the west wall of EA-39 were a small room (EA-39A) and two offering houses (EA-39B and EA-39C). This entire room, including the floor, was plastered. Traces of red paint were found on some of the walls. There is evidence of renovation and reconstruction in this room.

EA-39A was a small room in the southwestern corner of EA-39. In this room was a bench/capstone extending from the center of the west wall with a stone-lined, circular cist tomb beneath it. Several of the human bones had traces of red pigment on them.

EA-39B was an offering house built above a stone-lined, circular cist tomb. The offering house is located along the center of the west wall.

EA-39C was an offering house built above a trapezoidal-shaped, stone-lined tomb. This offering house is located in the northwestern corner of EA-39. The capstone of this tomb had an offering hole in its east side that allowed access to the tomb below.

EA-39D represents the main area of EA-39 and covered the eastern half of the room. Two separate rectangular burial chambers were constructed beneath the floor in the northern one-third of EA-39D. Another tomb was dug into bedrock extending north of the north wall (in the northeast corner of the EA). In the center of the EA-39D was a circular bench. Beneath this circular bench was a pit dug into bedrock; however, this pit yielded no cultural material.

The only way to access EA-39 was through a door in the approximate center of its eastern wall. The walls and original floor in EA-39D were plastered. Based on floor and wall plastering sequences, the two subterranean chambers and north bedrock tomb represent the last construction activity within the room after which the entire floor and walls were replastered. There were traces of red pigment on some of the walls. Because the circular bench in the middle of EA-39D was also covered with this plaster, it was probably part of the final construction activity in the room. EA-39A was also constructed as part of the final construction activity. Its east wall sits atop the plaster floor.

EA-88

Dimensions: 3.6m x 6.13m

Area = 22.07m²

Notable features: bench with child burials, smashed ceramic offering, pit filled with animal bones, *Spondylus* offering

EA-88 was the central room in Mortuary Complex "B." It had a doorway in the center of the west wall, one at the north end of the east wall, and one in the middle of the east wall. The floor and probably the walls were plastered. A small offering of *Spondylus* was found in the east wall along the floor. This room also had a pit in the floor along the west wall that was filled with animal bones.

EA-88 had a bench along its south wall. This bench was constructed on top of the floor in this room. Prior to the construction of the bench, this room probably served a different function. Inside the bench were 6 infant/child burials, three of which were intact. Red pigment was found on some of the skull fragments.

The northern one-fourth of the room was slightly closed off by a wall. This area was looted/destroyed so it is unclear what its function was; however, there was a bench along the north wall. Because several special finds and human skeletal remains were encountered in this northern space, it probably was an area of importance.

EA-141

Dimensions: 1.8m x 4.5m

Area = 8.1m²

Notable features: bench, hearth

EA-141 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “B.” It has two doorways, one located at the north end of the west wall and one in the middle of the east wall. At the southern end of this room was a large bench that extended across the entire width of the room along the south wall.

EA-142

Dimensions: 1.8m x 2.1m

Area = 3.78m²

Notable features: pits filled with animal bones

EA-142 was a room located in Mortuary Complex “B.” It was a small room with a doorway at the south end of the west wall and a one in the middle of its east wall. Intrusions along the north and east walls were filled with animal bones, the majority of which were not articulated. Of the few special finds found in this room, there were several intact or nearly intact objects related to pottery production including a potter’s wheel, smoothing tools, molds, and a *broquel*.

APPENDIX I: Description of Burials

EA-6

Burial #L2004 (loci 1774 and 2004)

MNI: 7

Sex: 1 male
6 unknown

Age: 2 infants
1 child
1 adolescent
2 young adults
1 adult

Burial #L2004 was a bedrock tomb containing multiple individuals. It was located in the northeast corner of the EA-6. This tomb was capped with a rounded bench that was roughly 1.6 x 1.4 meters in diameter. The edge of the capstone was a raised, rounded surface about 15 cm wide and 5 cm high. There was a small, square-shaped raised offering hole in the top of the bench located roughly in the center of the bench. This offering hole had traces of red pigment on its surface. It is unclear whether the offering hole allowed access to the tomb below. Some of the human teeth had traces of red pigment on them.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #L2004:

1. HE1761: ~100% intact closed bowl with exterior decoration (Viñaque?, with animal profile heads around the exterior)
2. HE1762: 100% intact Wari blackware open bowl
3. HE4030A: 85% intact Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
4. HE1796: 1 rectangular shell adornment (mother-of-pearl, with perforation)
5. 3 potter's tools (*alisadores*)
6. 1 *Spondylus* bead
7. HE1856: fragment of a carved musical instrument made of bone
8. 2 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
9. HE1797 and HE41B: 2 rectangular *Spondylus* objects with cross-hatching carved on one surface
10. 3 pieces of worked greenstone

Burial #41 (locus 2819)

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 child (the human bones were not analyzed)

Burial #41 was an intact child burial located beneath the floor along the north wall just west of Burial #L2004. A pit was dug through the floor, the child was placed into the pit in a flexed position, the burial was covered level with the floor. An open bowl (HE6199) was placed on the child's head. The child's face looked to the northeast.

Notable artifacts:

1. HE6199: Huamanga style open bowl with exterior design

EA-9

Burial #1 (locus 958/1009)

MNI: 7

Sex: 1 male (adult)
1 female (adult)
5 unknown (NB, infants, child)

Age: 1 NB-3 months
3 infants
1 child
2 adults

Burial #1 was a bedrock tomb located in the northwestern corner of the EA-9. This tomb was disturbed and contained multiple individuals. Burial #1 had a rectangular bench/capstone that extended diagonally from the west wall. This bench was about 10 cm high. The tomb was about 1.25 m below the floor surface. The paltry amount of artifacts recovered from this tomb suggests it was heavily looted.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #1:

1. HE411: one fragment of a Conchopata urn with exterior design
2. 1 piece of unworked *Spondylus*
3. 2 fragmentary (<50% intact) Huamanga style open bowls with design on interior

EA-31

The burials in EA-31 were all located beneath the floor in the eastern side of the room. There were remains of a destroyed bench along the east wall. This bench had traces of red paint on it.

Loci 1299, 1336 and 1409 were all registered as separate burials and an MNI was calculated for each. However, this entire area (beneath the floor along the east wall) was terribly disturbed and looted. Though each locus is discussed, the data of all three were also pooled because the contexts were mixed. Burial #9 was intact.

Pooled MNI for Loci 1299, 1336 & 1409:

MNI: 13

Sex: 2 males
3 females(?)
8 unknown

Age: 1 NB-3 months
3 infant
1 child
1 adolescent
1 young adult
6 adults

Pooled artifacts for Loci 1299, 1336 & 1409:

1. 1 Wari blackware closed bowl
2. 3 Huamanga style open bowls with design on interior
3. 1 undecorated Huamanga style open bowl
4. 1 Viñaque style open bowl with interior design
5. 1 Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
6. 1 Wari blackware open bowl
7. 1 Wari blackware face-neck jar
8. 1 Chakipampa/Atarco(?) face-neck jar
9. 1 undecorated deep dish bowl
10. 1 mini-jar
11. 1 Viñaque(?) cup
12. 21 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
13. 3 pieces of unworked greenstone (pieces from the same rock?)
14. 1 copper snuff spoon
15. 1 tupu

Burial #L1299 (locus 1299)

MNI: 6

Sex: 1 male (adult)
2 females(?) (adults)
3 unknown (infant, child, adolescent)

Age: 1 infant
1 child
1 adolescent
3 adults

Burial #L1299 was a sub-floor burial located beneath the north wall in the east end of EA-31. The human bones were very dispersed and this burial was disturbed. An offering hole was located in the floor along the north wall that may have allowed access into this tomb.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #L1299:

1. HE422: ~50% intact Wari blackware closed bowl
2. HE441: 95% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
3. HE421: <50% intact Wari blackware face-neck jar
4. HE106A: <50% intact undecorated deep dish bowl
5. HE439: 100% intact mini-jar
6. HE105A: <50% intact Viñaque style cup
7. 2 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*

Burial #L1336 (locus 1336)

MNI: 5

Sex: 1 male
1 female(?)
3 unknown

Age: 1 NB-3 months
1 young adult
3 adults

Burial #L1336 was located south of Burial #L1299. The cultural material was very dispersed and may represent artifacts that were part of Burial #L1336 or Burial #L1409. Human bone was dispersed throughout this burial.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #L1336:

1. HE453: 50% intact undecorated Huamanga style open bowl
2. HE100A: 70% intact Viñaque style open bowl with interior design
3. HE101A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
4. HE102A: <50% intact Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
5. HE23B: 60% intact Wari blackware open bowl
6. HE452: 100% intact Chakipampa/Atarco(?) style face-neck jar
7. HE455: 100% intact copper snuff spoon
8. 5 piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
9. HE2310: one tupu fragment

Burial #L1409 (locus 1409)

MNI: 2

Sex: 2 unknown (infants)

Age: 2 infants

Burial #L1409 was located in front of and beneath the east bench along the south wall. Human bones were dispersed throughout this burial. Some of the human bones had red pigment on them.

Notable artifacts recovered from L. 1409:

1. HE549: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
2. 9 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
3. 3 pieces of unworked greenstone (pieces from the same rock?)

Burial #9 (locus 1369)

MNI: 4

Sex: 1 female (adolescent – just a few skull fragments represented in back of tomb)
3 unknown (infant, adolescent [female?] and adult [female?])

Age: 1 infant(?) (located in a jar; these human bones were not analyzed)
2 adolescents (1 female, 1 possible female)
1 middle-aged adult (south burial – possible female)

Burial #9 was an intact tomb located beneath the floor in the northeast corner of the EA-31, underneath the east wall. The opening of this tomb was sealed with a mud mortar. Inside were the remains of four individuals, one was possibly a female. The two main individuals were intact bundle burials. They were both wrapped in textile or woven mats (remnants of rope were recovered) in the fetal position. One body was placed at the south end of the tomb, the other at the north end. The bodies were in a very poor state of preservation, crumbling apart. A radiocarbon date from a wooden weaving tool from this tomb dated to A.D. 875 to 995 (calibrated at 1 sigma). Based on the grave goods associated with the two bundle burials, it seems likely they were both high-status females.

Fragments of a human skull were found in the north of the tomb and represent a possible adolescent female.

Artifacts associated with the north burial (intact possible female bundle burial):

1. HE540: 100% intact Wari blackware face-neck jar; topped with HE541
2. HE541: 100% intact Huamanga style closed bowl/cup with exterior design
3. HE542: 100% intact Wari blackware face-neck jar; topped with HE543
4. HE543: 100% intact Wari blackware closed bowl/cup

5. HE544: 100% intact undecorated open bowl
6. HE570: 100% intact tupu
7. HE538: 100% intact tupu

Artifacts associated with the south burial (middle-aged, possible female adult):

1. HE535: 90% intact Huamanga style olla with exterior design
2. HE536: 100% intact plainware olla with conical base; a fetus/infant was buried in this jar; was topped with HE537
3. HE537: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
4. HE539: 100% intact tupu
5. 2 wooden weaving implements, one of which was intricately carved

EA-37

Burial #ML1 (loci 1164, 2541, and 2544)

MNI: Multiple (human skeletal remains were never analyzed)

Human bone was found throughout the different strata. Due to the paucity of artifacts and scattered nature of the human bone, these cist tombs were probably severely looted.

L. 1164 represents the west cist tomb. This stone-lined, circular cist tomb was located beneath the floor partially in front of and to the west of the doorway. It was dug into bedrock, and was about 90 cm from the floor level and 60 cm in diameter. No artifacts of note were recovered from this burial.

L. 2541 represents Level 1 of the tomb found beneath the floor in the east end of EA-37. This tomb was dug into bedrock. This locus contained a few human bones. L. 2544 represents Level 2 of the tomb. No artifacts of note were recovered from this tomb.

EA-38B

Burial #ML3 (locus 1454)

MNI: Multiple (human skeletal remains were never analyzed)

Human bone was found throughout the different strata. Due to the paucity of artifacts and scattered nature of the human bone, this cist tomb was probably severely looted. A radiocarbon date obtained from this burial dated to A.D. 970 to 1025 (calibrated at 1 sigma).

EA-38B is a offering house with a circular, stone-lined cist tomb beneath it. The inside of this offering house had plastered walls. The tomb had a stone capstone with a notch along the middle of its eastern edge that provided access to the cist tomb below. The tomb measured about 91 cm in diameter, 2 meters deep from the capstone, and had an offering hole along its east side that ran the length of the cist tomb (top to bottom). Most of the artifacts were encountered along the

eastern side of the tomb suggesting offerings were made periodically through the offering hole. Most of the human bones were dispersed and not articulated.

Notable artifacts from Burial #ML3:

1. 5 pieces of worked greenstone
2. HE579 & HE120A: 2 model fragments
3. numerous copper fragments, probably from tupus
4. 23 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
5. 1 potter's smoothing tool (*pulidor*)

EA-39

EA-39 was the main burial chamber of Mortuary Complex "B." This room contained several sub-floor tombs. In the middle of the southern half of the room was a circular bench with a shallow pit beneath it; nothing was found in this pit.

All the tombs were looted and many of the grave goods and human bones were tossed out and/or scattered into other loci/contexts/tombs. In fact, sherds from the same ceramic vessel were often found in several different loci throughout the room fill. Because this room was heavily looted, the MNI was calculated by pooling all human skeletal remains from the room. However, the human skeletal material from EA-39B was not analyzed.

Pooled MNI for entire room: 30

Sex: 4 males
9 females
17 unknown

Age: 1 fetus
2 NB-3 months
9 infants
4 children
2 adolescents
7 young adults
3 middle-aged adults
2 old adults

summary of artifacts pooled from EA-39 (A, B, C, D)

1. 1 olla with exterior design
2. 1 Chakipampa style double vessel (olla)
3. 1 undecorated closed bowl
4. 4 closed bowls with exterior design
5. 3 undecorated open bowls
6. 10 open bowls with interior design
7. 3 open bowl with exterior design
8. 1 Wari blackware closed bowl

9. 1 Wari blackware open bowl
10. 1 Wari blackware lyre cup
11. 1 Wari blackware face-neck jar
12. 1 mini Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
13. 2 deep dish bowls (*tazones*)
14. 1 tripod vessel
15. 7 undecorated mini-urn
16. 1 mini-olla
17. 2 mini-bowls
18. 1 square, diatomaceous block
19. 1 tooth-shaped object made of diatomite
20. 74 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
21. 36 pieces of worked greenstone
22. 25 greenstone bead
23. 307 *Spondylus* beads
24. 2 lapis lazuli bead
25. 1 fragment of a *Spondylus* figurine(?)
26. 5 *tupus*
27. 1 copper snuff spoon
28. 6 copper pins with curlicue ends
29. 1 copper needle
30. 1 human ceramic vessel/figurine wearing a long tunic
31. 1 cone-shaped object made of diatomite
32. 1 animal antler with one end worked
33. 1 intact mold

EA-39A

EA-39A was an enclosed space located in the southwestern corner of EA-39. It has access to EA-39D through an entry way in its east wall. Not much care was made in constructing the eastern wall, almost as if it were erected at the last minute to set the space apart from EA-39D. The walls within this room were plastered. It appeared to have a bench along its south and west walls but it was badly destroyed; if this bench did exist, then it was constructed over the U-shaped bench/capstone beneath it. The U-shaped bench/capstone extended from the middle of the west wall. Beneath it was a circular, stone-lined cist. This U-shaped bench was about 45 x 50 cm. The cist tomb was about 79 x 76 cm in diameter and extended about 1.1 meters beneath the bench. To the north of the cist was a small triangular shaped space which was not excavated because of instability.

Notable artifacts recovered from all loci in EA-39A:

1. HE1166: 100% intact Huamanga style olla with exterior design
2. HE1238: 100% intact undecorated closed bowl
3. HE1168: 50% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
4. HE1243 y HE1733A: 50% intact undecorated open bowl
5. HE1730A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
6. HE1731A: <50% intact open bowl with interior design

7. HE3132A: 40% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
8. HE1237: 90% intact Wari blackware lyre cup
9. HE1234: 100% intact square, diatomaceous block
10. 4 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
11. HE1285: 100% intact tupu
12. 6 pieces of worked greenstone

EA-39B

The human skeletal remains were not analyzed for this tomb.

EA-39B was an offering house with a circular, stone-lined cist tomb beneath it. The dimensions of the floor of the offering house are about 90 x 60 cm. The eastern side of EA-39B was destroyed. The cist tomb was about 80x75 cm in diameter and 1.15 meters in depth from the bottom of the capstone.

Notable artifacts recovered from all loci in EA-39B:

1. 1 greenstone bead
2. 9 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
3. 3 piece of worked greenstone

EA-39C

EA-39C was a small offering house constructed above a trapezoidal-shaped stone-lined tomb. The walls of the offering house were plastered, and exhibited evidence of having been replastered two or three times. The floor of the offering house had an offering hole (9 cm in diameter) on the eastern side that corresponded to an offering hole carved into the underlying capstone. This offering hole led directly into the below-floor tomb. The floor of the cist tomb measured 82x79x97x82 cm. The tomb extended down from the capstone about 1.35 m.

Notable artifacts recovered from all loci in EA-39C:

1. HE1212 & HE1310: 80% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
2. HE1223, HE1314, HE1334 & HE1201: 70% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
3. HE1222: <50% intact undecorated mini-urn
4. HE1211: tooth-shaped object made of diatomite with the “root” portion painted red and the tooth portion left white
5. textile fragments
6. HE3698A: 100% intact copper snuff spoon
7. 20 greenstone beads
8. 290 *Spondylus* beads
9. 1 lapis lazuli bead
10. 34 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
11. 6 copper pins with curlicue ends
12. HE1323: 1 tupu fragment
13. HE1311A: 1 copper needle

14. 19 pieces of worked greenstone

EA-39D

EA-39D represents the eastern half of EA-39. Two separate burial chambers (an east chamber and west chamber) were constructed beneath the floor in the northern one-third of the EA-39D. Another tomb was dug into bedrock (Burial #L2069) extending north of the north wall (in the northeast corner of the EA-39D) and one possible tomb was constructed in the approximate center of the EA-39D beneath a circular bench.

The walls and original floor in EA-39D were plastered. Based on floor and wall plastering sequences, the two subterranean chambers and bedrock tomb represent the last construction activity within the room after which the entire floor and walls were redone. There were traces of red pigment on some of the walls. Because the circular bench in the middle of EA-39D was also covered with this mud plaster, it was also probably part of the final construction activity in the room. EA-39A was also constructed as part of the final construction activity; its east wall sits atop the final floor.

Notable artifacts recovered from all loci in EA-39D:

1. HE#1141: a 100% intact Huamanga style closed bowl exterior design
2. HE1723: 100% intact Huamanga style closed bowl exterior design
3. HE11B: <50% intact Huamanga style closed bowl exterior design
4. HE2215A: <50% intact Wari blackware closed bowl
5. HE4B: <50% intact Huamanga style closed bowl exterior design
6. HE#1096: <50% undecorated open bowl
7. HE#1103: 70% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
8. HE1200: 50% intact Huamanga style open bowl exterior design
9. HE#1096A: a <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
10. HE#1B: <50% intact open bowl
11. HE#3134A y HE1065: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl exterior design
12. HE3140A & HE3141A: <50% intact Chakipampa open bowl interior design
13. HE#4004A, HE#3137A, HE#3138A & HE#4028A: 50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with exterior design
14. HE#5B: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
15. HE#6B: <50% intact Wari blackware open bowl
16. HE#394A: <50% intact tripod vessel
17. HE#386A & HE#3133A: <50% intact Wari blackware face-neck jar
18. HE#1065: 100% intact Chakipampa double vessel (olla)
19. HE#10B: <50% intact deep dish bowl (*tazon*)
20. HE#3B: <50% intact deep dish bowl (*tazon*)
21. HE1247: 100% intact mini-jar
22. HE1634: 100% intact mini-jar
23. HE1651: 100% intact mini-jar
24. HE1668: 100% intact mini-jar
25. HE1706: 100% intact mini-jar
26. HE2225A & HE2226A: <50% intact mini-jar

27. HE1684: 100% intact mini-olla
28. HE1721: 100% intact mini-bowl
29. HE34B: 100% intact mini-bowl
30. HE#1095: <50% intact Wari blackware mini-bowl with built-in straw
31. HE2220A & HE2221A: Several fragments of a human ceramic vessel/figurine wearing a long tunic
32. HE#1085: a red painted cone-shaped object made of diatomite
33. HE#1690: textile fragments
34. HE#1186: Part of an animal antler with one end worked
35. 17 *Spondylus* beads
36. 4 greenstone beads
37. 1 lapis lazuli bead
38. HE#1725: fragment of a possible figurine made of *Spondylus*
39. HE#1722: 100% intact mold
40. 27 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
41. HE#1698: 100% intact tupu
42. HE#1699: 100% intact tupu
43. HE#1737: 100% intact tupu
44. 8 pieces of worked greenstone
45. HE#1125: half of a torno with an incision

EA-40A

The human skeletal remains have not yet been analyzed for this room. However, the MNI is at least 5 individuals (based on number of skulls found).

Burial #83

Burial #83 was a bedrock tomb located beneath the floor in the northeast corner of EA-40A. The individuals were buried in a flexed position, and some were bundled in textiles based on material remains found surrounding the bones. Some of the human remains were articulated.

Notable artifacts found in Burial #83

1. HE6461: 100% intact decorated mini-jar (associated with Individual 1)
2. HE6889: 100% intact tupu (associated with Individual 2)
3. HE6883: 100% intact Wari blackware mini-jar (associated with Individual 3)
4. HE6880: 100% intact Wari blackware closed bowl (associated with Individual 3)
5. HE6887: 75% intact Huamanga style open bowl (associated with Individual 3)
6. HE6891: copper needle with textile wrapped around it (associated with Individual 3)
7. HE6666: 100% intact, undecorated closed bowl (maybe associated with Individual 3)
8. HE6543: 100% intact figurine of a human (maybe associated with Individual 3)
9. HE6886: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design (associated with Individual 4)
10. HE6884: 100% intact mini-jar with exterior design (associated with Individual 4)
11. HE6888: 100% intact tupu (associated with Individual 4)
12. HE6881: 100% intact Wari blackware closed bowl (maybe associated with Individual 4)

13. HE6882: 100% intact Wari blackware closed bowl (maybe associated with Individual 4)
14. HE6885: 100% intact mini-jar with exterior design (associated with Individual 3 or 5)
15. HE8019: 65% intact Wari blackware closed bowl (found inside HE6542)
16. HE6542: 100% intact Huamanga style olla with exterior design

EA-44B

Based on the field notes, the skeletal material analyzed for Locus 950 actually came from EA-44B. Both EA-44A and EA-44B have a locus 950.

EA-44B had two tombs, one on the west side of the room and the other on the east side. Human bone was found throughout the different strata of this room. Due to the paucity of artifacts and scattered nature of the human bone, these tombs were probably severely looted.

Burial #L950 (east tomb)

MNI: 3

Sex: 3 males

Age: 1 young adult male
2 middle-aged adult males

The east tomb was dug into bedrock and may have had a bench constructed above it. Nothing of note was recovered from this tomb other than two potter's tools (*alisador* and a polishing stone).

Burial #ML9 (west tomb)

The west tomb was a circular, stone-lined, cist tomb. There was a notch in the northern end of the tomb through which offerings could be made. This tomb probably had an offering house above it.

Notable artifacts recovered from west tomb:

1. 29 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
2. 2 piece of worked greenstone

EA-64

EA-64 had at least two burials beneath benches along the south wall of the room. Human skeletal remains were only analyzed from Burial #L1152. The south end of the room was very disturbed and the burials were looted.

MNI: 9

Sex: 1 male
1 female
7 unknown

Age: 1 fetus
3 infants
2 children
1 middle-ages adult
1 old adult
1 adult

Because the southern half of the room, where the benches were located, was looted, the artifacts pertaining to these tombs and associated fill were pooled (Loci 1116, 1152, 1294, 1320, 1329, 1370).

Burial #L1152

Burial #L1152 was a bedrock tomb originally located beneath a bench along the south wall. Human bones were scattered throughout the different loci and were in a poor state of preservation. This tomb contained multiple individuals.

Burial #L1320

Burial #L1320 was located in the southwest section of EA-64 beneath a bench. This tomb was a circular pit dug into bedrock.

Notable artifacts recovered from both Burials #L1152 and #L1320:

1. HE#254A: 85% intact Huamanga style open bowl exterior design
2. HE#255A: 60% intact Huamanga style open bowl with exterior design
3. HE#256A and HE#260A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
4. HE#257A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
5. HE#258A and HE#259A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
6. HE#261A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
7. HE#262A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
8. HE#264A: <50% intact Huamanga open bowl with s-band design on interior
9. HE#268A and HE#269A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
10. HE#267A: <50% intact Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
11. HE#263A: 75% intact Huamanga style olla with exterior design
12. HE#16A: 100% intact, mini-closed bowl
13. HE#338A: <50% intact effigy face kero/tumbler in the form of a condor head
14. HE#250: 85% square block of diatomite with a skull carved on one side
15. fragments of rope
16. HE#273A: fragment of a possible figurine
17. HE#277A: fragment of an animal figurine
18. 5 pieces of worked *Spondylus*
19. 3 pieces of worked greenstone

EA-88

EA-88 had a bench along its south wall that contained several infant/child burials. Because the bench was constructed on top of the floor, it may have specifically been constructed to accommodate these burials.

Burial #54

The MNI calculated for Burial #54 was from two completely different contexts so it is unclear exactly the number of individuals and their ages were part of Burial #54.

MNI: 4

Sex: Unknown

Age: 2 infants
1 child
1 adolescent

Burial #54 was a disturbed burial located in the southwest corner of the EA-88. It was a circular pit dug into bedrock. Newspaper was encountered near this burial. The human bones recovered were scattered and not articulated.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #54:

1. HE#6193: <50% intact mini-face-neck jar
2. HE#6239 and HE#9031A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design

Burial #77

MNI: 3

Sex: Unknown

Age: 1 NB-3 months
2 infants

Burial #77 was located in the southeast corner of the room in the south bench. This burial was a pit dug into bedrock and it was disturbed. Human bones were scattered throughout the locus and were not articulated.

Notable artifacts recovered from L. 3040:

1. HE6200 & HE2118A: 75% intact Huamanga style closed bowl with exterior design
2. HE6201: small rectangular mother-of-pearl shell adornment with two holes at one end

Burial #79

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 child

Burial #79 was intact. This burial was represented by a single flexed child whose face was facing east. This child was placed sitting on top of bedrock. A Huamanga style open bowl was lying just west of the skull. Cotton was placed in the mouth and nose and the skull was wrapped with a thin layer of textile. Cinnabar covered the textile. A piece of the string/rope that tied the textile to the skull was recovered. There was a lot of organic material surrounding the rest of the skeleton suggesting it was a bundle burial.

Notable artifacts recovered from this locus:

1. HE79C: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl

Burials #82

MNI: 3

Sex: Unknown

Age: 3 children

Burial #82 represents a single burial of three children (Burials #82, 84 and 85). This was an intact burial. Burial #82 was placed at the south end of the pit along the south wall; this individual had a bowl on top of its head (HE#6467) and was sitting in a flexed position. Some of the skull fragments of Burial #82 had red pigment on their surfaces.

Burial #82 was placed at the north end of the pit. This individual also had a bowl on its head (HE#6466) and was sitting in a flexed position with its face looking to the east. The left arm of Burial #84 was resting on top of an intact open bowl (HE#6532). HE#6532 was on the head of Burial #85 (see below). Disintegrating textile around the body indicates this was a bundle burial.

Around both Burial #82 and Burial #84 were the fragments of a single olla (HE#8510A) that was intentionally smashed and placed around these two burials.

Burial #85 was located beneath Burials #82 and #84. This individual had an open bowl (HE#6532) on its head; this open bowl was more elaborately designed than the other two. This individual was also buried with four copper bells. Its head was placed lying on its right side with its facing looking to the east. However, the bones from the rest of its body were placed in the bottom of the pit separate from the skull (to the north of the skull). Because the bowl on its head remained in place, it appears that the infant's head was detached from its body prior to burial.

Burial #86

MNI: 1

Sex: Unknown

Age: 1 infant

Burial #86 was an intact infant burial located in the northeast corner of the bench. This infant was in a flexed position with its face looking to the east. Unlike the other child burials, this one did not have a bowl on its head. Above this burial, at the level of the top of the bench, was a large round rock (40 cm in diameter) which probably served as a capstone.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #86:

1. HE6650: a small rectangular shell adornment with a hole at one end
2. HE6652 & HE6653: two small circular copper objects
3. fragments of textile
4. HE6664: copper needle(?)

Burial #88

The bones from Burial #88 have not yet been analyzed.

Burial #88 was a disturbed burial located along the south wall in the bench. Human bones were dispersed throughout the locus and not articulated. A decorated open bowl (HE6700) was found, suggesting that this bowl was probably placed on top of a child's head in this burial.

EA-105

Burial #L2095

MNI: 14

Sex: 1 male (adult, age 24-27)
5 females
8 unknown

Age: 2 fetuses
2 NB-3 months
1 infant
1 child
1 adolescent
5 young adults
1 middle-aged adult
1 old adult (female, age 46-50)

Burial #L2095 was an intact sub-floor bedrock tomb located beneath the bench in the western side of the EA-105. An organic sample from the bottom of the tomb provided a radiocarbon date of A.D. 688-879 (Tung & Cook 2006). The tomb was sealed with a compact clay surface level with the floor. Beneath this surface were several large rocks that were placed at the tomb opening to seal the tomb.

According to Tung and Cook (2006), the tomb in EA-105 likely represented an elite family group based on all ages being represented and common genetic traits present on some of the bones. The last adult female interred was pregnant at the time of death. Another adult female was buried with an infant in her right arm.

High status is inferred based on tomb construction, contents and a high level of carious lesions (Tung & Cook 2006) which would indicate a diet high in maize. All the ceramic vessels and tupus were associated with women.

According to Tung & Cook (2006):

1. Individual #1 (pregnant female): had a Huamanga bowl (HE1850) on her head, decorated mini-urn (HE1881), Wari blackware style face-neck jar in her lap (HE1880), four tupus (HE1861, HE1926, HE1927, HE1928), one copper needle; associated with a vessel containing a human hair braid (HE1865 and HE1908; these were found one in the other), and a Huamanga face-neck jar (HE1863); this individual was wrapped in textile (Tung 2000), in a flexed position (legs were flexed in an Indian style position but raised higher), with red pigment on some of her skull bones.
2. Individual #3 (elderly female): had a Huamanga bowl (HE1895) on her head, 3 undecorated mini-urns (HE1898), a Wari blackware style face-neck jar with a bird face (HE1896) in her lap, one large tupu (HE1897), one copper needle with yarn around it (HE105B), necklace of greenstone and *Spondylus* beads (HE1894), two shell pendants carved into birds (HE1894), greenstone object carved into a frog (HE1894); cinnabar was sprinkled on her face; had osteoarthritis in her spine and right shoulder; had evidence for healed cranial trauma; evidence for textile found around the cranium; face is looking east.
3. Individual #4 (woman holding an infant): was covered in cinnabar; had osteoarthritis in her left shoulder.
4. Individual #6 (adult male): seated on wooden boards (HE1924) that may have been the base for a textile bundle (Tung & Cook 2006); evidence for possible feathers (feathered textile?); he was located at the base of the tomb surrounded by white ash; had spinal osteoarthritis; had evidence for healed cranial trauma; presence of cinnabar on cranium; was sitting in a flexed position facing south.
5. Individual #2 (young adult female): buried above the male; grave goods include a Wari blackware face-neck jar with bird face (HE1907), a mini-urn (HE1864), three small shawl pins (HE1899, HE1900), two tupus (HE1890), one mini-bowl
6. Fetus 1: placed in an olla capped with a bowl (HE1854 and HE1855)
7. Fetus 2: placed in an olla capped with a bowl; this fetus was placed in a leather bag in the olla (HE1851 and HE1852)
8. Individual #5 (possible adult female): had spinal osteoarthritis; had evidence for healed cranial trauma
9. Individual #8 (juvenile)

The fetuses were located near the opening of the tomb and were associated with a mini-drum (HE1845), obsidian (HE1853), *tupus* (HE1849 and HE104B), spoon (HE1837), and a face-neck jar (HE1846). Tung and Cook (2006) suggest they were “unborn offspring of intermediate elite women.”

Associated with Individuals 2 and 3: *Spondylus* pieces, female figurine (HE1905), jar with molded feline head (HE1906).

Summary of artifacts from EA-105 burial:

1. 1 Chakipampa style spoon fragment
2. 1 ceramic drum (HE1845)
3. 13 *tupus*
4. 3 copper needles
5. 1 piece of worked obsidian (HE1853)
6. 2 open bowls
7. 10 Huamanga style open bowls with interior design
8. 1 deep dish bowl (*tazon*)
9. 3 Huamanga style ollas with exterior design
10. 1 neckless olla with handle
11. 2 small face-neck jars
12. 1 small jar with molded feline head
13. 1 Wari blackware open bowl
14. 3 Wari blackware face-neck jars
15. 7 mini-urns
16. 1 mini-olla
17. 7 greenstone beads and 2 shell bead
18. 1 piece of wedge-shaped *Spondylus* and 1 piece of unworked *Spondylus*
19. 1 small bird carved out of shell
20. 2 copper headdress fragments
21. 1 female figurine
22. wood frame for mummy bundle

EA-110

EA-110/Burial #P4 was a very disturbed and looted room that contained a large bedrock tomb. A modern trench has been cut through the very northern edge of this room, destroying most of the north wall. The walls and probably the floor in EA-110 were plastered. Traces of red paint were found on the walls. Cinnabar was found on some human teeth. Human skeletal remains were scattered throughout the room.

Because this room was disturbed by construction and looting activity, notable artifacts were pooled from all loci. This room contained numerous fragments of mini-urns. Fragments from the same ceramic vessels were found in EA-110, EA-109 and EA-138.

Burial #P4

MNI: 16

Sex: 2 male(?)
1 female(?)
13 unknown

Age: 1 fetus
2 NB-3 months
5 infants
1 child
2 adolescents
3 young adults
2 middle aged adults

Notable artifacts recovered from EA-110

1. HE1877: several fragments of a decorated ceramic vessel; fragments from EA-109, EA-138, EA-147 and possibly EA-181 and EA-195
2. HE3981A: 60% intact Huamanga style closed bowl with exterior design; fragments from EA-109
3. HE1272A: <50% intact open bowl
4. HE2637A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
5. HE4015A: 60% intact undecorated open bowl
6. HE4010A: fragments of a Huamanga style open bowl with interior design; fragments EA-109.
7. HE4013A: fragments of a Huamanga style open bowl interior design
8. HE2B: <50% intact undecorated deep dish bowl; fragments EA-109
9. HE1748: 40% intact mini-jar
10. HE2656A: 35% intact mini-jar
11. HE1592(1): 40% intact mini-jar
12. HE1271A: 60% intact mini-urn
13. HE2642A & HE2702A: 40% intact mini-urn
14. HE1878: 100% intact mini-vessel
15. 23 alisadores
16. 2 shell beads
17. 9 *Spondylus* beads
18. 7 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*

EA-138

The human skeletal remains have not yet been analyzed for this room.

EA-138 was a mortuary room that contained at least four sub-floor circular stone-lined cists. This room was very disturbed and a relatively paltry number of special finds were found. It was

one of two rooms at the site where gold was found. A modern trench cut through the middle of EA-138 running east-west.

Because this room contained several tombs and was terribly disturbed, notable artifacts from all loci were be pooled (and notable artifacts per tomb are indicated).

Burial #L2589

Burial #L2589 was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb dug into bedrock and located in the southeast corner of the room. It was capped with a large stone that had a half circular notch along its east side that may have been an offering hole. This burial contained no cultural remains or human bones suggesting all its contents were removed.

Burial #L2590

Burial #L2590 was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb dug into bedrock and located in the southwestern part of EA-138. There was a bench above this tomb. Human remains were found dispersed throughout the tomb.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial L#2590:

1. 2 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*

Burial #L2606

Burial #L2606 was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb dug into bedrock located along the center of the west wall. Human remains were found dispersed throughout the locus. Two finger bones had green discoloration suggesting they were once ringed.

Notable artifacts from Burial #L2606:

1. HE5716 & HE5970A: 75% intact mini-urn
2. 2 small circular gold disks with two holes at one end
3. HE5076: figurine of a bird carved from bone with traces of red and black pigment
4. 5 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*

Burial #L2629

Burial #L2629 was a circular, stone-lined cist tomb located in the center of the room. There was probably a bench above this tomb. Human remains were found dispersed throughout the locus.

Notable artifacts from Burial #L2629:

1. HE5054: 40% intact open bowl with interior design

Summary of pooled artifacts found in EA-138:

1. 2 closed bowls with exterior design
2. 6 open bowls with interior design
3. 2 undecorated open bowls

4. 1 large straight-sided bowl with exterior design
5. 1 shallow, straight-sided plate or platter
6. 3 deep dish bowls
7. 1 Wari blackware open bowl
8. 1 Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
9. 1 Wari blackware face-neck jar
10. 1 mini-urn
11. 2 circular copper adornments with a tiny hole at one end
12. 2 small circular gold disks with two holes at one end
13. 1 greenstone bead
14. 1 bone figurine carved into a bird
15. 1 potter's tool (*paleta*) with chevron design
16. 16 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
17. 2 tupus
18. 1 piece of worked greenstone

EA-147

EA-147 had several intact infant/child burials located in a bench located along the south wall.

Burial #42

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 child

Burial #42 was located in the southeast corner of the room. The bones were somewhat disarticulated, though it appears as if this child was lying slightly on its left side in a fetal position with its face up.

Notable artifacts associated with or near Burial #42:

1. HE5864 & HE5415: 100% intact mold
2. HE5762A: 95% intact Huamanga style closed bowl with exterior design

Burial #43

MNI: 2

Sex: 2 unknown

Age: 1 infant
1 child

Burial #43 was an intact burial located in the southwestern corner of the room. Burial #43 was probably originally placed within a small square-shaped bench in the southwest corner of the room; thus, this smaller bench was constructed within the south bench. Three polishing stones were placed at the corners of this small bench. The child was placed in a fetal position with its face looking to the northeast. An open bowl (HE5664) was placed on top of its head. Behind its head were a mini-olla (HE5976), and two mini-bowls (HE5977 and HE8049). Beneath the mini-vessels was an open bowl (HE5979). Placed just below the child's right ear and right side was a small miniature face-neck jar (HE5981). Placed near the left side of the child's head was an open bowl (HE5978), interior facing up. Located to the south of this burial was a tupu fragment, a small shell, and a few camelid bones. Associated with Burial #43 was an intrusion in the south end of the west wall that contained remains of an infant.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #43:

1. HE5763A: 25% intact Huamanga open bowl with escalones design on exterior (fragments from L. 2849 and 2897)
2. HE5664: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
3. HE5978: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
4. HE5979: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
5. HE5981: 100% intact Huamanga style mini-face-neck jar
6. HE5977: 100% intact mini-open bowl
7. HE8049: 100% intact mini-open bowl
8. HE5976: 100% intact Huamanga style mini-olla

Burial #46

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 infant

Burial #46 was located along the west wall and to the north of Burial #43. This was an intact single infant burial sitting in a fetal position with its face looking to the southeast. A Huamanga style open bowl with interior design (HE6171) was placed on top of its head.

Burial #48 (locus 2906)

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 infant

Burial #48 is located in the south bench along the west wall and to the north of Burial #46. This was an intact single infant burial sitting in fetal position with its face looking to the northeast. An open bowl (HE5982) was placed on top of its head, as if it were wearing a hat.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #48:

1. HE5982: a 100% intact Huamanga open bowl with escalones design on interior

Burial #49

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 infant

Burial #49 was located to the northeast of Burial #43. This was an intact single infant burial. Just to the northeast of this burial was a Chakipampa style closed bowl (HE5986) within which were three miniature items: a mini-jar (HE5983), a mini-urn (HE5984) and a whistle in the form of a bird with a human face (HE5985).

EA-150

EA-150 contained a large offering house with a rounded cornice, a small trapezoidal opening to access its interior, and an offering hole in the middle of its floor that allowed access to the large tomb beneath it, Burial #94. Traces of red paint were found on the exterior surface of the bench. The trapezoidal opening had small holes around it suggesting that some sort of adornment was attached to the side of the offering house. The tomb beneath the bench was dug into bedrock. Some of the human bones in the tomb had traces of cinnabar on them. This room was only one of two in which gold was found. Unfortunately, the tomb was looted though many unusual artifacts were recovered. The west wall of EA-150 displayed evidence of having been replastered several times.

Burial #94

MNI: 5

Sex: 3 females
2 unknown

Age: 2 children
1 adolescent (female)
1 young adult (female)
1 old adult (female)

Burial #94 was a rectangular tomb located beneath the offering house in EA-150. This tomb was about 2.6 meters by 85 cm in area and extended about 1.2 m from its floor to its ceiling. The walls in the tomb were plastered with mud. The human bones were dispersed and not articulated.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #94:

1. HE6165 and HE6328: two gold adornments in the form of a face; a hole at the top suggests they either served as jewelry or was sewn on clothing
2. HE6808, HE6209, HE6240, HE6241, and HE6429: 5 circular gold disks with two holes at each end; similar objects in copper had string through the holes suggesting this type of object was sewn onto clothing
3. HE6213: circular silver disk with two holes at one end and a large hole in its center; may have been an adornment
4. HE6253, HE6354, HE6255, HE6282, HE6357, HE6385, and HE6818: 7 circular silver disks with two holes at one end; may have been adornments or sewn onto clothing
5. 23 circular copper disks with holes at each end; some have string through the holes suggesting they were sewn onto clothing
6. HE6358: circular copper disk with two holes at one end; may have been an adornment or sewn onto clothing
7. HE6263: a silver tube, hollow through the middle
8. HE6211 and HE6252: 2 objects made from diatomite with engraved lines painted red; this object is similar to the shape of the balsa rafts that the warrior figures ride as depicted on some of the Conchopata urns
9. HE6243, HE6272, and HE6433: 3 objects made from diatomite in the shape of an perhaps placed over the eye of a corpse or placed on mummy bundles
10. 31 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
11. HE6108, HE6109, HE6212, HE6281, HE6425, and HE6426: 6 100% intact tupu
12. HE6269: square-shaped carved bone with holes around the edges
13. 802 greenstone beads
14. 42 *Spondylus* beads
15. 2 lapis lazuli beads
16. HE6270, HE6278, HE6814, HE6431, and HE6432: 5 carved greenstone objects (olla shape, "croissant" shape, two seashells, geometric shape)
17. HE6369, HE6370 & HE6371: three silver "pins;" may have been stems of *tupus*
18. HE6383: 100% intact undecorated mini-open bowl

EA-153

EA-153 was a mortuary room. The above-floor fill consisted entirely of ash, suggesting this room was intentionally closed off prior to abandonment. The three bedrock tombs located beneath the floor along the southern wall were looted. All were located under a bench along the south wall. One tomb had an smaller bench above it with an offering hole.

Because of extensive looting, the artifacts are pooled. Not all of the human skeletal material was analyzed (only skeletal remains from Loci 3212 and 3214 were analyzed).

MNI: 4

Sex: 4 unknown

Age: 1 child
3 adults

Notable artifacts recovered from EA-153 burial contexts:

1. 16 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
2. HE8361: 100% intact mini-jar with exterior design
3. HE8362: 100% intact mini-jar
4. HE8360: 100% intact mini-urn
5. HE7304: <50% intact Wari blackware closed bowl
6. HE7279: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl with exterior design
7. HE7271: 70% intact neckless olla with exterior design
8. HE7269: 70% intact deep dish bowl with handles
9. HE7207: 100% intact mini-jar with exterior design
10. 1 piece of worked greenstone (square-shaped)
11. HE7303: <50% intact Wari blackware open bowl with built-in straw
12. HE7208: 80% intact "effigy face" vessel (*kero*)
13. HE7172: 100% intact mini-jar with exterior design
14. HE7107: nearly 100% intact "effigy face" vessel; top half is a feline head, the bottom half is a human skull (part of this vessel was found in the tomb located in EA-179)

EA-154

EA-154 contained two burials, one located in a bench (the northwest corner of the room) and another located in a deep pit in the southeast corner of the room. Only the bench burial was analyzed.

Burial #38

MNI: 1

Sex: 1 unknown

Age: 1 child

Burial #38 was an intact child bench burial. This burial was located within a bench in the northwest corner of the room. The child was in a flexed position with its face looking southeast with fragments of an undecorated jar on its head (HE5650). This burial was placed into the bench subsequent to its construction.

EA-178

EA-178 had two burials beneath its bench. The bench was located along the north wall. In the side of the bench, located slightly off-center was a small square opening (13cm x 13cm) that led back diagonally into the bench and connected to Burial #96.

MNI was calculated for each locus, though the skeletal remains should have been pooled for each cist tombs. Therefore, the MNI is probably inflated. Because the tombs were looted, the MNI per tomb was pooled.

Burials #95 and #96

MNI: 11

Sex: 2 males
2 males(?)
3 females
4 unknown

Age: 1 child
1 adolescent
1 young adult
3 middle-aged adults
1 old adult
4 adults

Human remains were encountered very close to the surface (Burial #95), in the NW corner of the room. These remains were associated with numerous special finds. These remains could be those of either Burial #96 or #97, but were pooled with Burial #96. The human remains were disturbed, scattered, and disarticulated except for one relatively well-articulated individual laid out in a supine position with knees slightly bent under a large rock. Many of the teeth had cinnabar on them.

Burial #96 was located beneath the bench on the western side. This tomb contained very little cultural material, suggesting that it had been heavily looted. This circular tomb was dug into bedrock. It was connected to the square offering hole located in the bench above it. This tomb was also connected to Burial #97 through a small opening in the bedrock between the two tombs. The few human bones recovered were mainly found near the bottom of the tomb and were disarticulated and scattered.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burials #95 and #96:

1. HE#8256: 100% intact mini-jar
2. HE#8263: 100% intact mini-jar
3. HE#7170A: <50% intact mini-jar with exterior design
4. HE#8260: 1 triangular-shaped silver adornment with a hole at one end
5. HE#8278: 1 silver adornment with two holes at one end
7. 7 greenstone beads
8. 4 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
9. 1 piece of worked greenstone
10. HE#7293A: 75% intact Wari blackware closed bowl
11. HE#7294A & HE7171A: <50% intact Huamanga style open bowl exterior design
12. HE#8322: stone plug

Burial #97

MNI: 4

Sex: 4 unknown

Age: 2 child
2 adults

Burial #97 was a bedrock tomb located beneath the eastern side of the bench. There was very little cultural material suggesting the tomb had been heavily looted. This circular tomb was connected to Burial #96 through a small opening in the bedrock. Human remains were dispersed and disarticulated.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burials #97:

1. HE#8342: 100% intact mini-jar
2. HE#8343: 100% intact mini-jar with exterior design

EA-179

Burial #98 was the large, sub-floor bedrock tomb in EA-179. Though the bones were not articulated, they were generally correctly associated anatomically suggesting that when the tomb was looted, skeletons were pushed to the sides. This is supported by the fact much of the bones were concentrated along the sides of the tomb. Despite the large size of the tomb and the numerous individuals present, there were relatively few special finds in the tomb indicating that it had been heavily looted.

An MNI was calculated for each locus, though the skeletal remains should have been pooled since the loci represent a single, huge, looted bedrock tomb. Therefore, the MNI is probably inflated.

MNI: 33

Sex: 3 males
1 male(?)
6 females
2 females(?)
21 unknown

Age: 1 infant
13 child
1 adolescent
2 young adults
8 middle-aged adults
2 old adults
6 adults

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #98:

1. 69 pieces of wedge-shaped *Spondylus*
2. HE#7341A: <50% intact Huamanga style closed bowl with exterior design
3. HE#8390: 95% intact Huamanga style open bowl with exterior design
4. 6 pieces of worked greenstone
5. HE#7392A & HE7612A: 70% intact Wari blackware closed bowl
6. HE#8466: <50% intact undecorated deep dish bowl
7. HE#8482: 100% intact undecorated mini-jar
8. HE#8483: 100% intact undecorated mini-jar
9. HE#8484: 100% intact undecorated mini-open bowl
10. HE#8481: 100% intact feline/skull pot (part of it from EA-153)
11. 5 pieces of unworked ("raw") *Spondylus*
13. HE#8597: 100% intact undecorated mini-jar
14. HE#8616: 1 silver adornment
15. 17 greenstone beads
16. HE#8619: 100% intact tupu

EA-187

MNI: 12

Sex: 2 male(?)
1 female
1 female(?)
8 unknown

Age: 8 children
2 young adults
1 middle-aged adult
1 adult

EA-187 is a small room that was carelessly constructed. The south wall has evidence of being plastered. This room was very disturbed and had evidence of looting activity. Human bones, designated Burial #P6, were scattered throughout the room and began appearing very close to the ground surface. There was no discernible tomb in this room.

An MNI was calculated for each locus containing human remains, though they should have been pooled since the room was looted and the human remains were scattered throughout the southeast corner of the room. Therefore the MNI is probably inflated.

Notable artifacts recovered from Burial #P6:

1. HE#8806 & HE#8868: 95% intact Huamanga style open bowl interior design
2. HE#8425A: <50% intact Huamanga style closed bowl with exterior design
5. HE8867: 100% intact Huamanga style open bowl exterior design
6. HE8831 & HE#8105A: 80% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
7. HE8869 & HE8107A: 70% intact Huamanga style open bowl with interior design
8. HE8872(2): a rectangular mother-of-pearl adornment with two holes at one end
9. HE8870: 50% intact mold of a human head wearing a decorated cap/hat
10. HE8876: <50% intact mold of a human face

EA-191

Burial #102

MNI: 2

Sex: 1 female
1 unknown

Age: 1 young adult
1 adult

EA-191 contained a single sub-floor burial dug into bedrock in the northeast corner of the room. The main individual was the bundle burial of an adult female (30-40 years old). She was seated in a flexed position with her facing looking towards the east. Textile fragments and rope were found around some of her bones. Only a few bones remained of the second individual.

There was an open bowl (HE8915) found near the head of the female and probably was placed on her head like a hat.

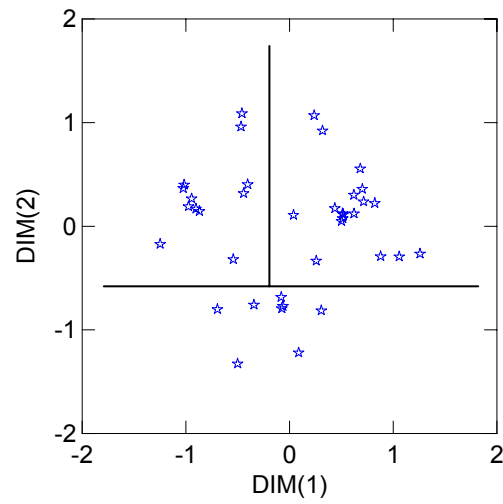
Notable artifacts associated with Burial #102:

1. HE8913: copper “projectile point”
2. HE8910: worked greenstone in a triangular shape
3. HE8915: 85% intact undecorated Huamanga style open bowl
4. HE8911: incised mother-of-pearl adornment
5. HE8912: small tupu

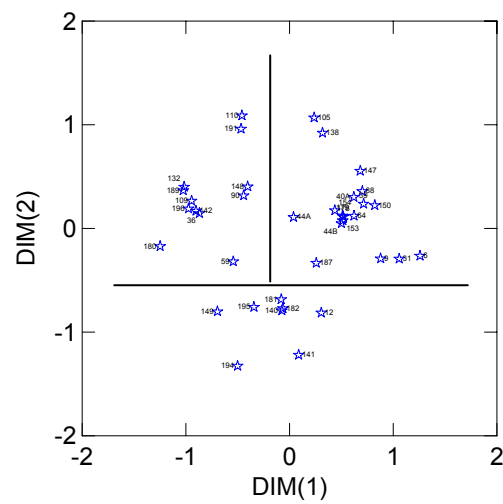
APPENDIX J: Results of Architectural Space Analysis

Below are the results of the multidimensional scaling analysis of architectural spaces.

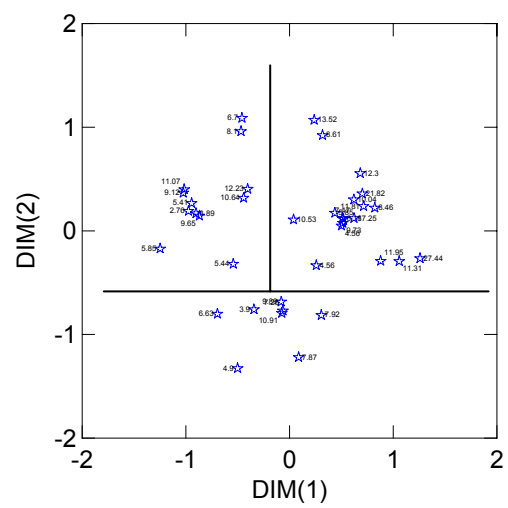
Dimensions 1 and 2



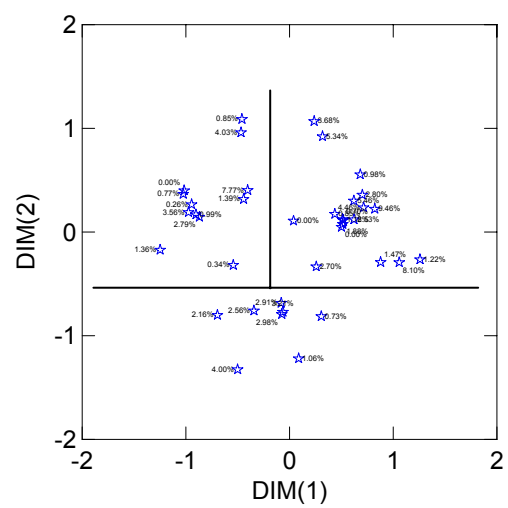
Architectural Space



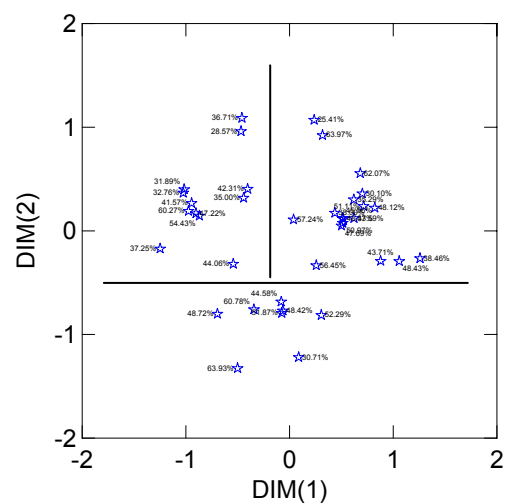
Area of room in square meters



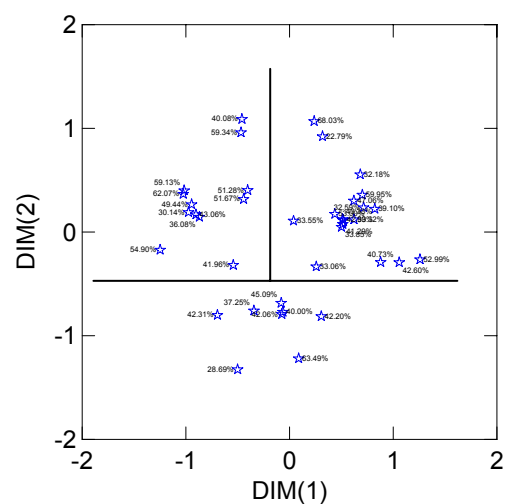
Total percentage of Wari blackware style ceramics



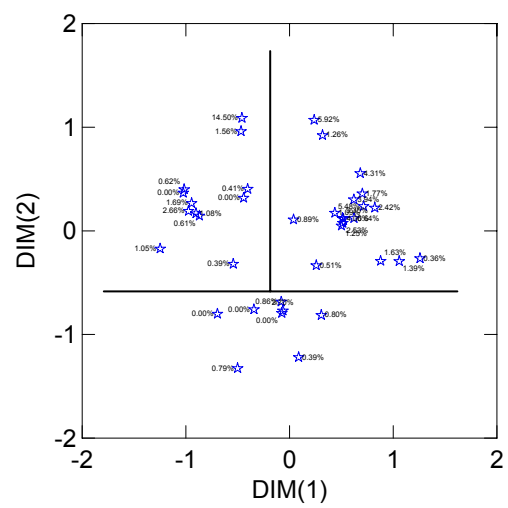
Percentage of bowls in above-the-floor fill



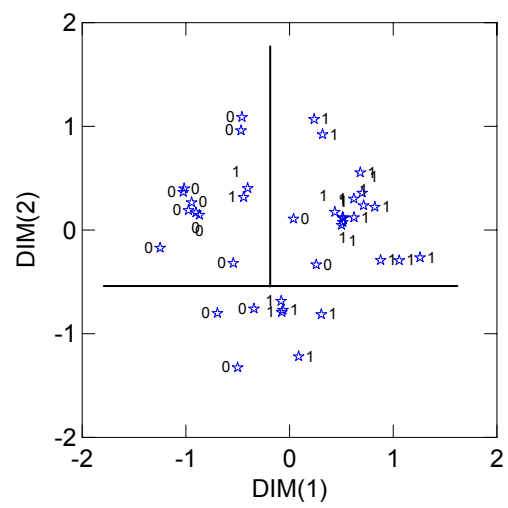
Percentage of jars in above-the-floor fill



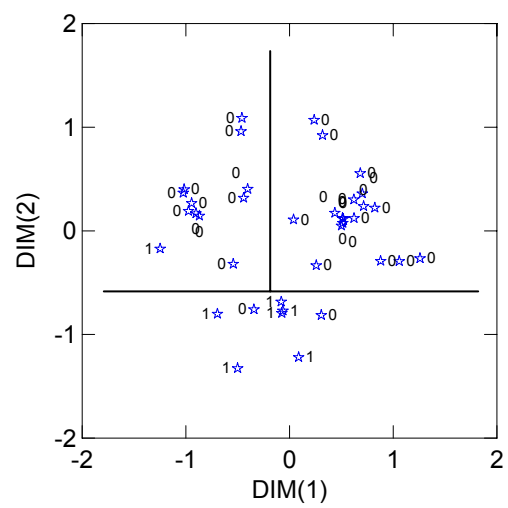
Total percentage of mini-vessels



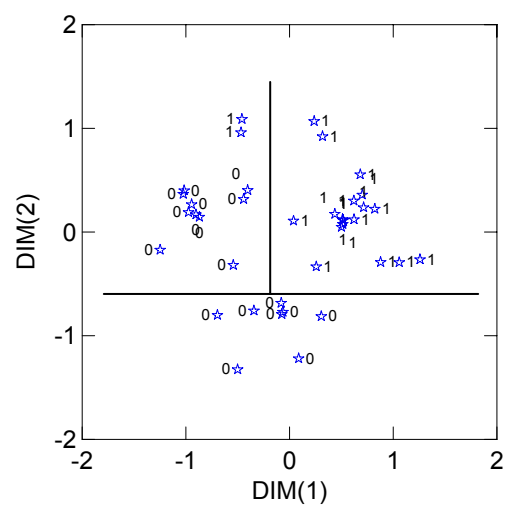
Presence/absence of a bench



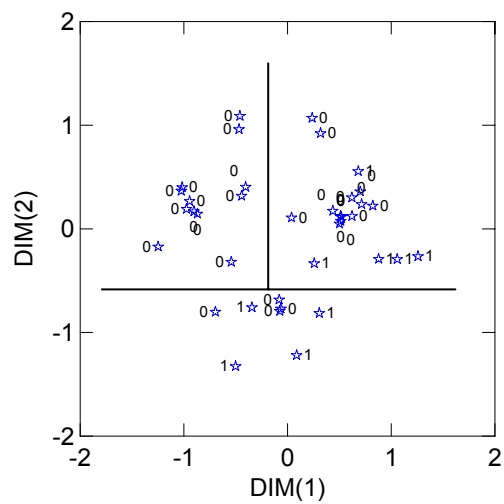
Presence/absence of a hearth



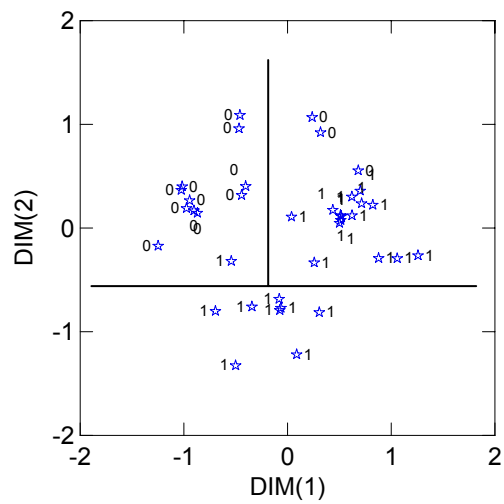
Presence/absence of burials



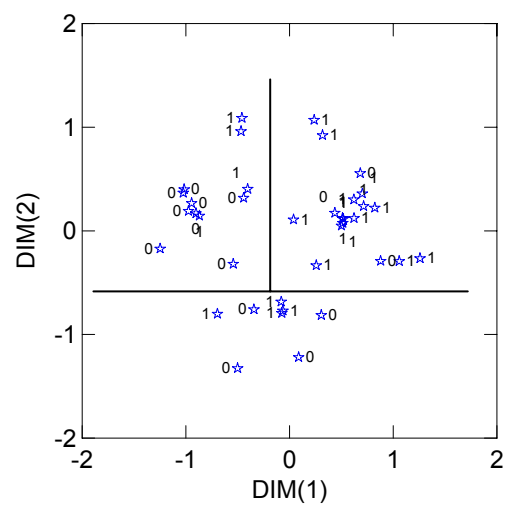
Presence/absence of musical instrument



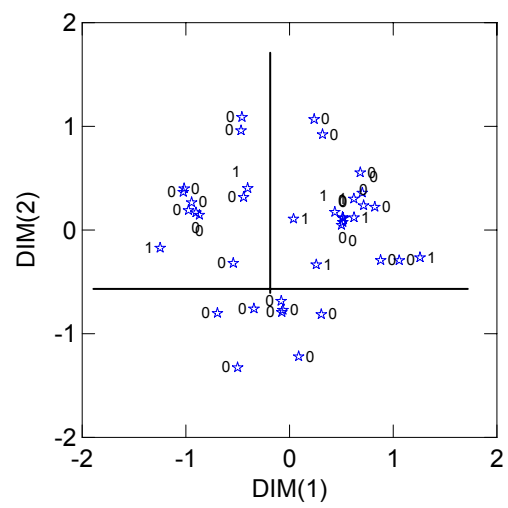
Presence/absence of spindle whorls



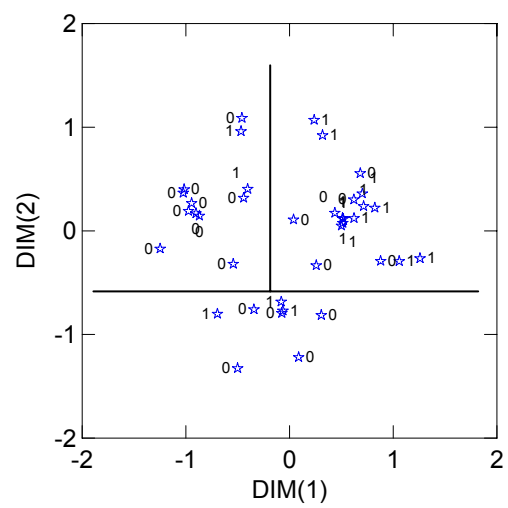
Presence/absence of *Spondylus*



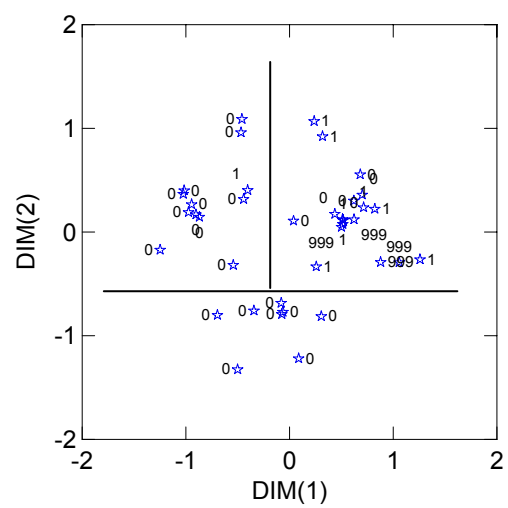
Presence/absence of camelid offering



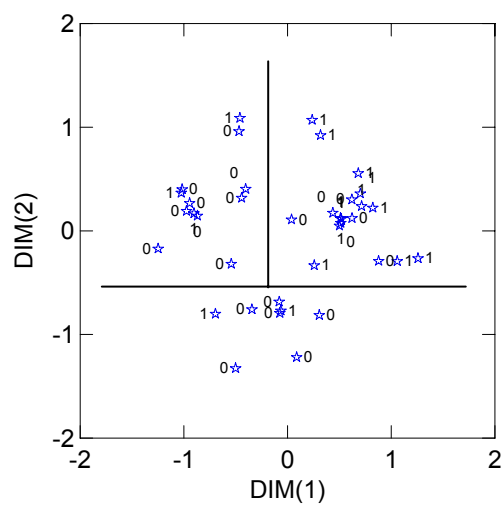
Presence/absence of greenstone



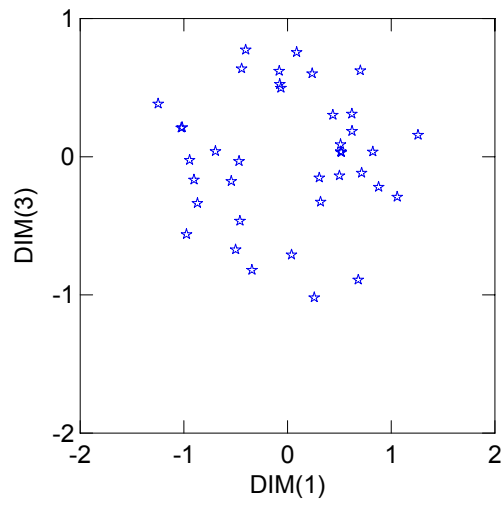
Presence/absence of offering hole



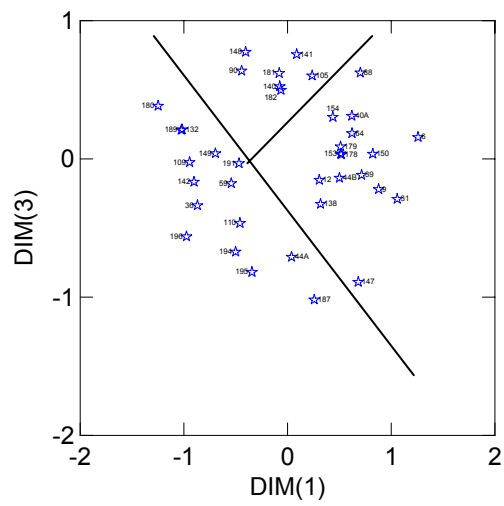
Presence/absence of beads



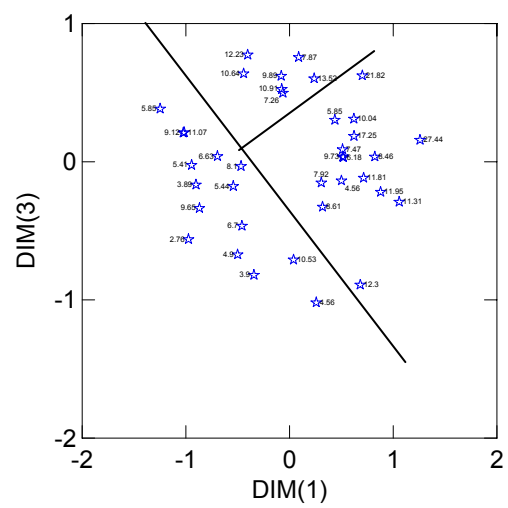
Dimensions 1 and 3



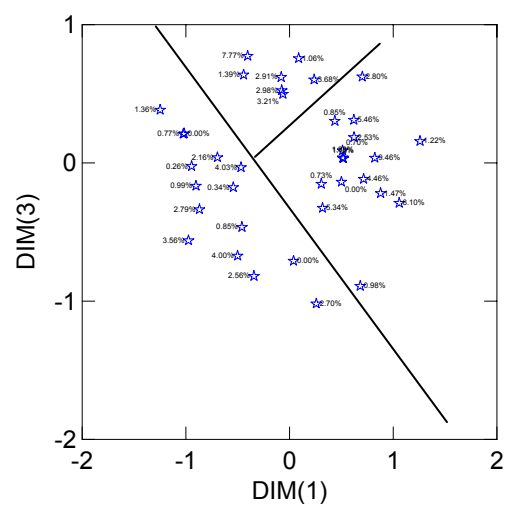
Architectural Space



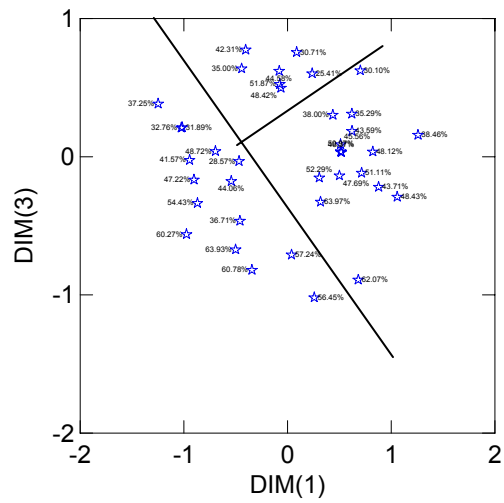
Room area in square meters



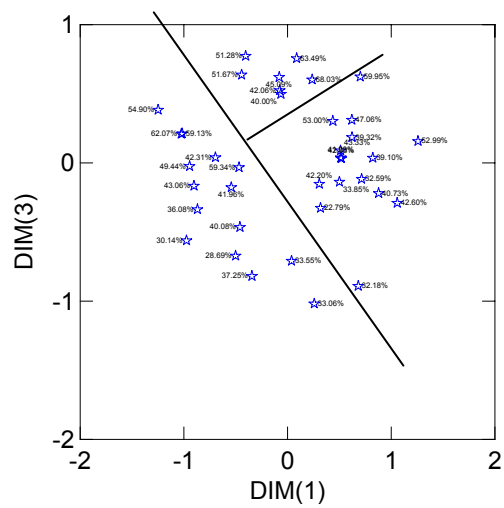
Total percentage of Wari blackware style ceramics



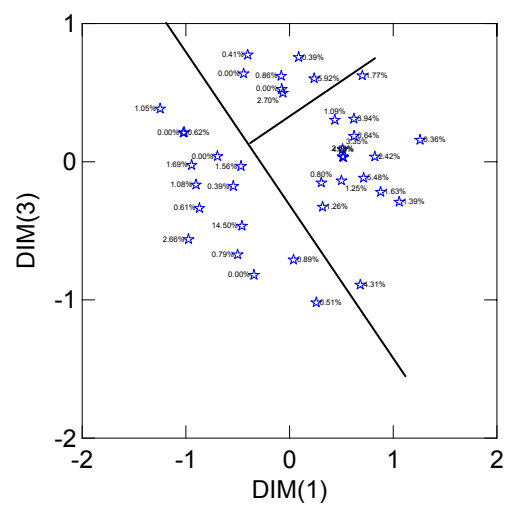
Total percentage of bowls in above-the-floor fill



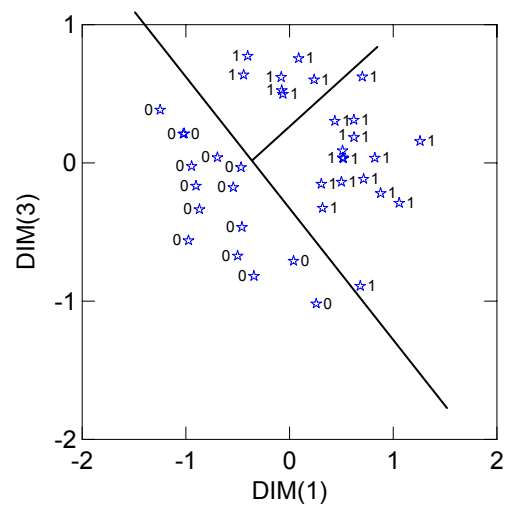
Total percentage of jar in above-the-floor fill



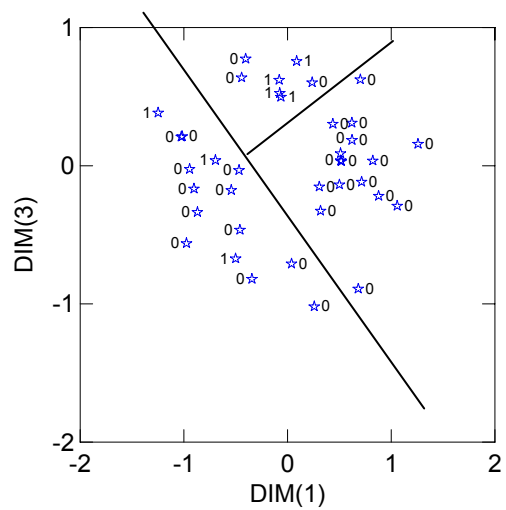
Total percentage of miniature ceramic vessels



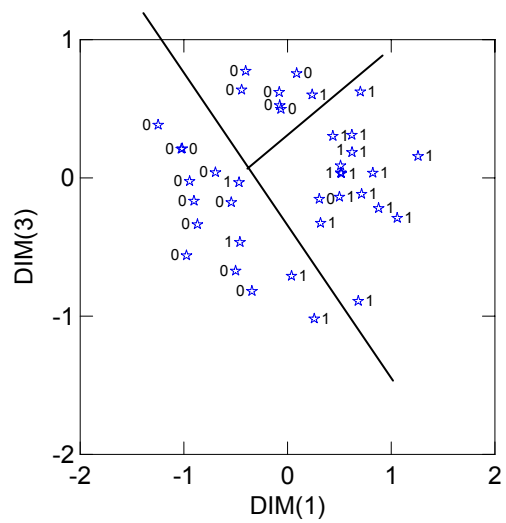
Presence/absence of a bench



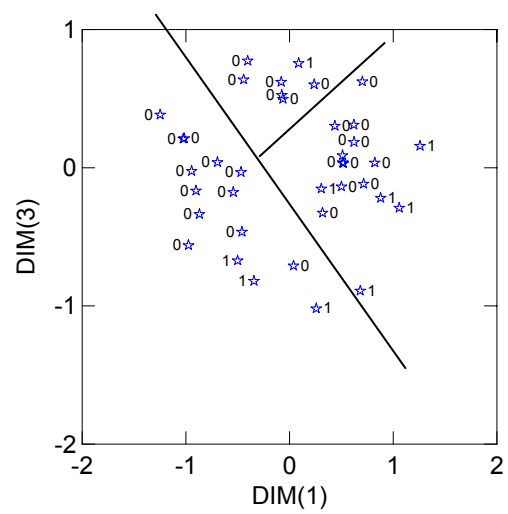
Presence/absence of a hearth



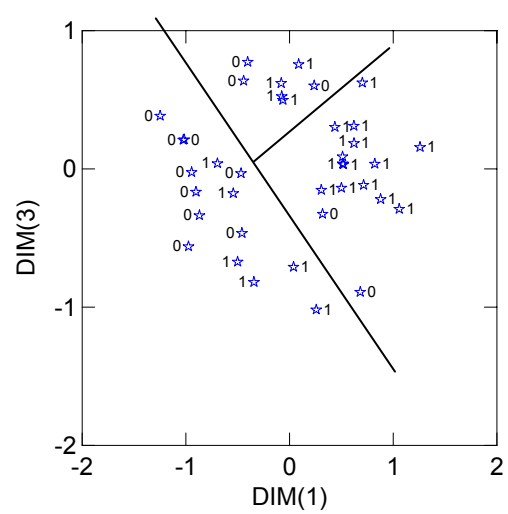
Presence/absence of a burial



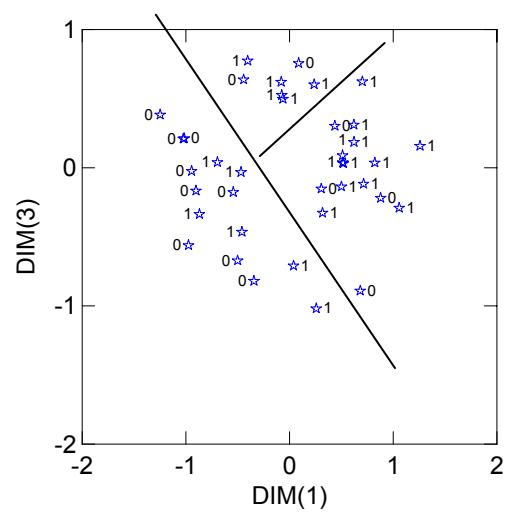
Presence/absence of musical instruments



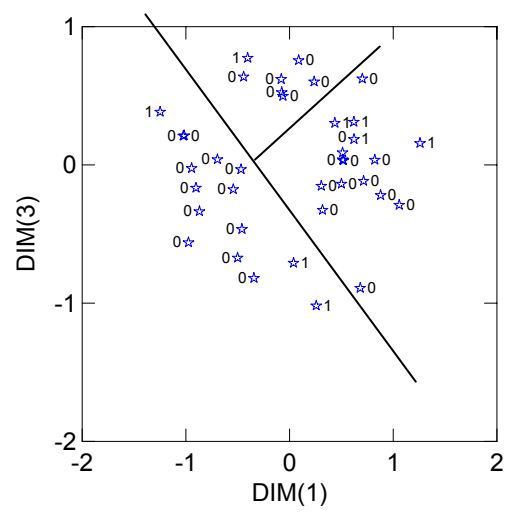
Presence/absence of spindle whorls



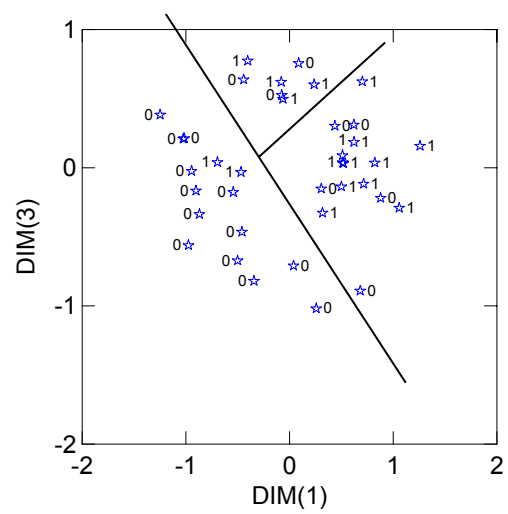
Presence/absence of *Spondylus*



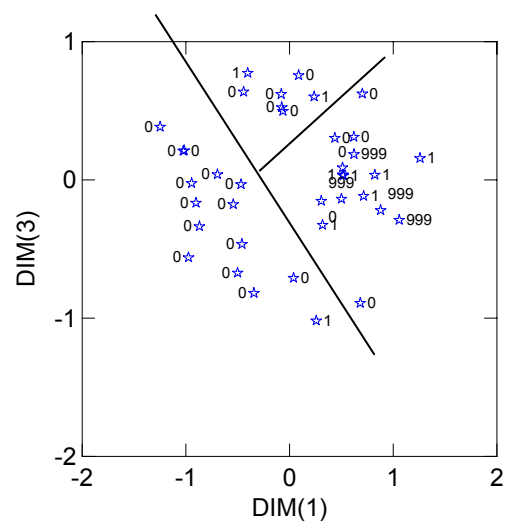
Presence/absence of camelid offering



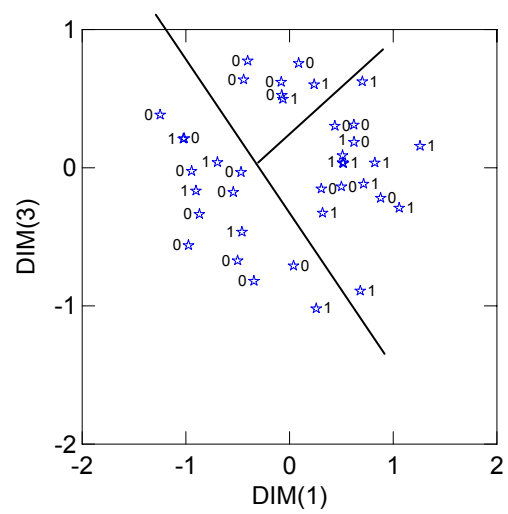
Presence/absence of greenstone



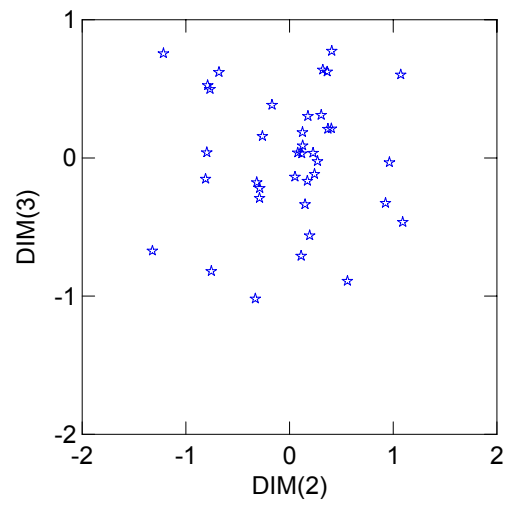
Presence/absence of an offering hole



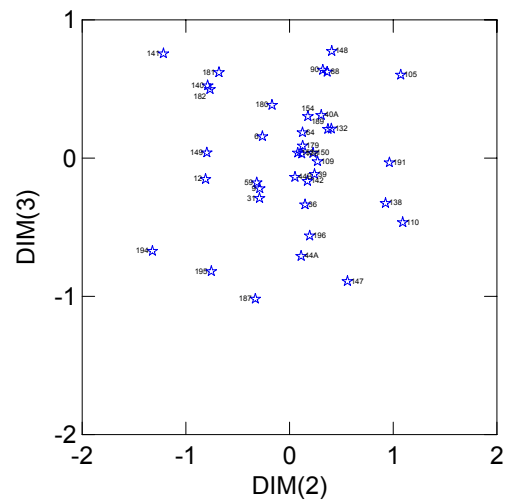
Presence/absence of beads



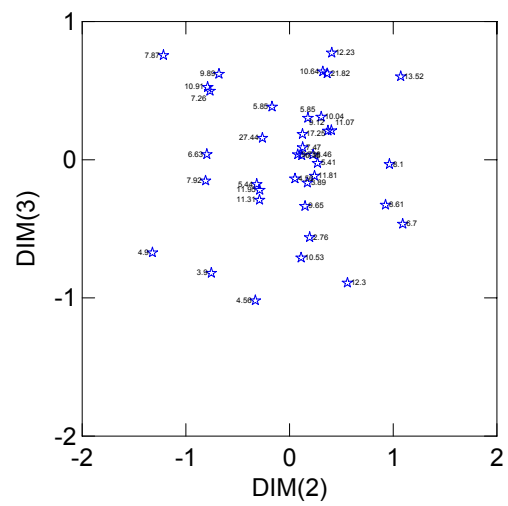
Dimensions 2 and 3



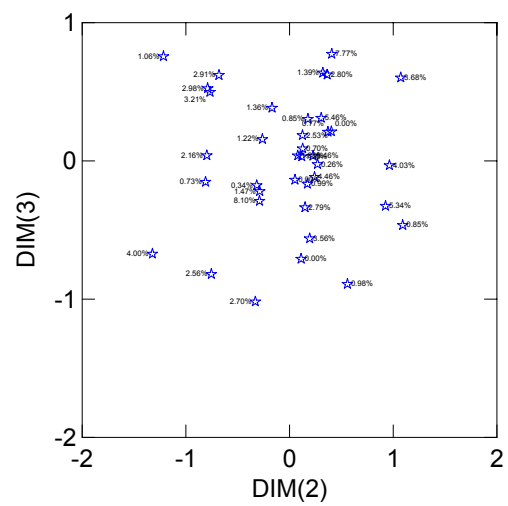
Architectural Space



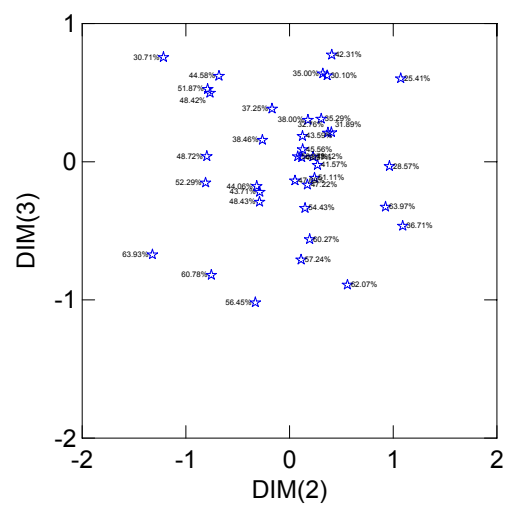
Room area in square meters



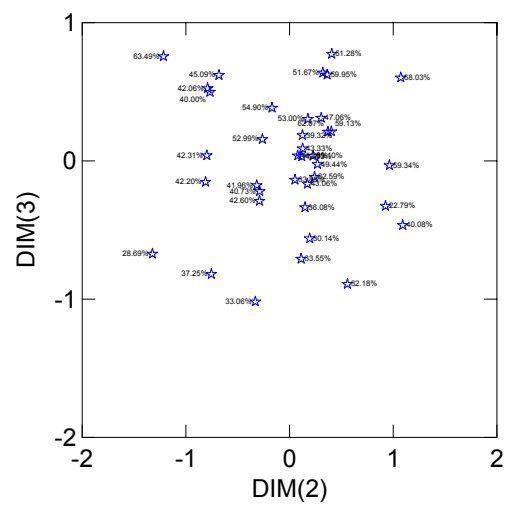
Total percentage of Wari blackware style ceramics



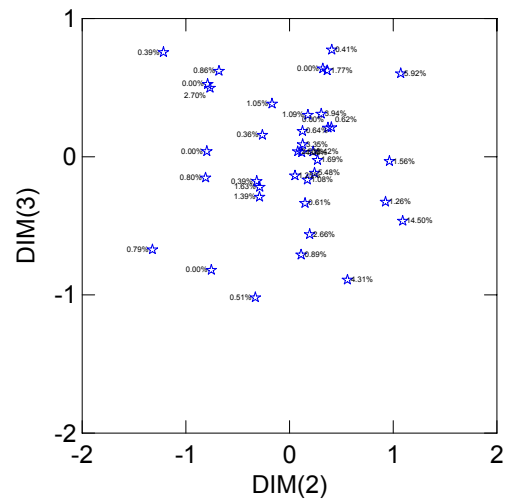
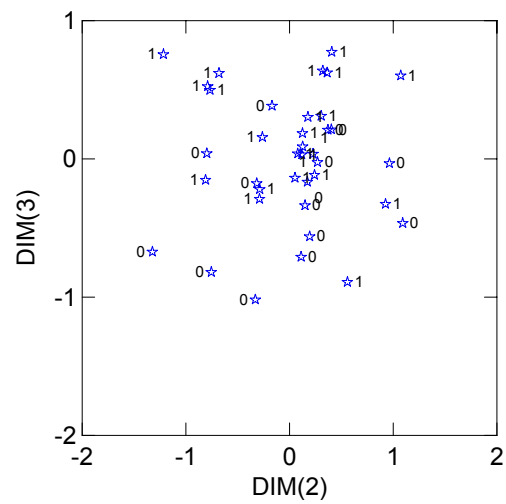
Percentage of bowls in above-the-floor-fill



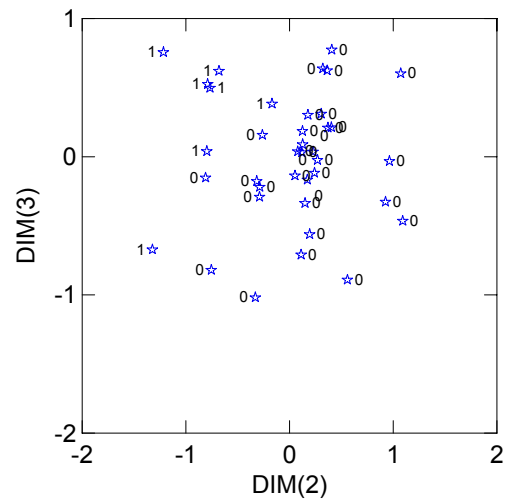
Percentage of jars in above-the-floor fill



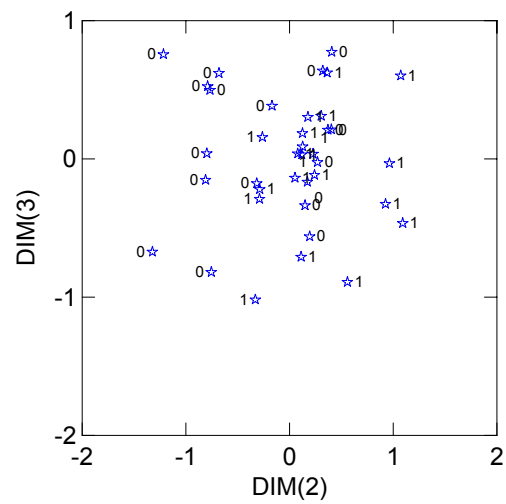
Total percentage of miniature vessels

**Presence (1)/Absence (0) of a Bench**

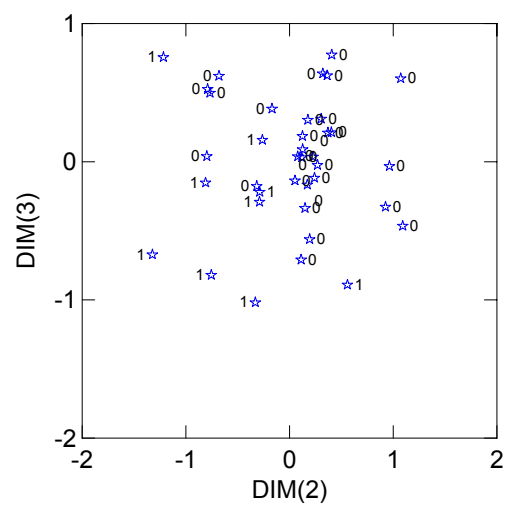
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of a Hearth



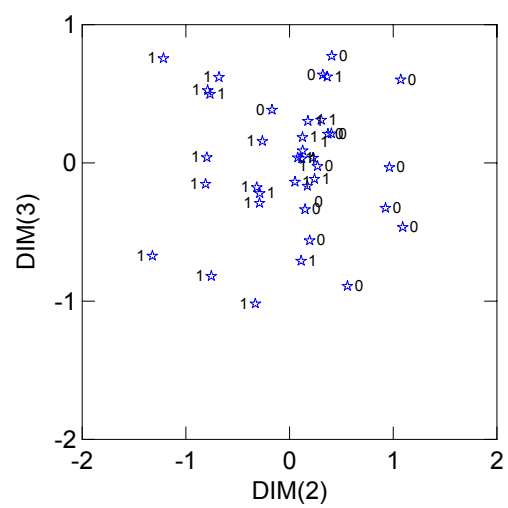
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Burials



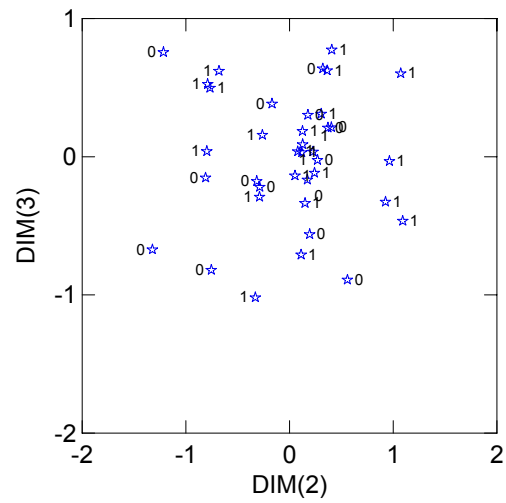
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Musical Instruments



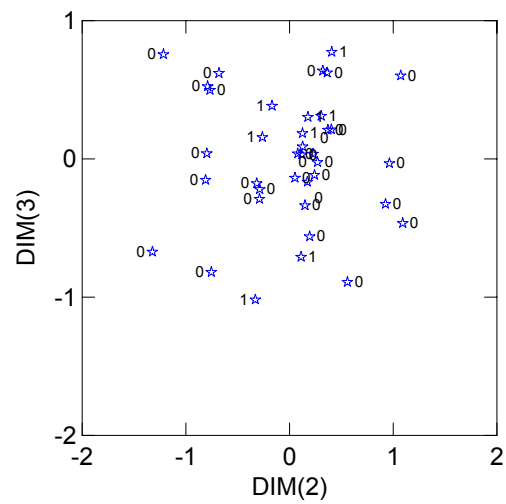
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Spindle Whorls



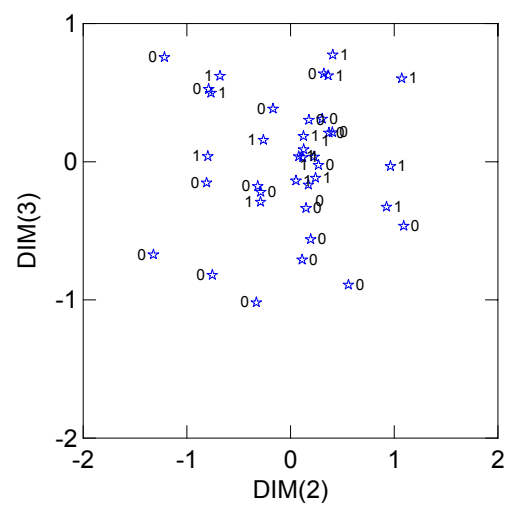
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of *Spondylus*



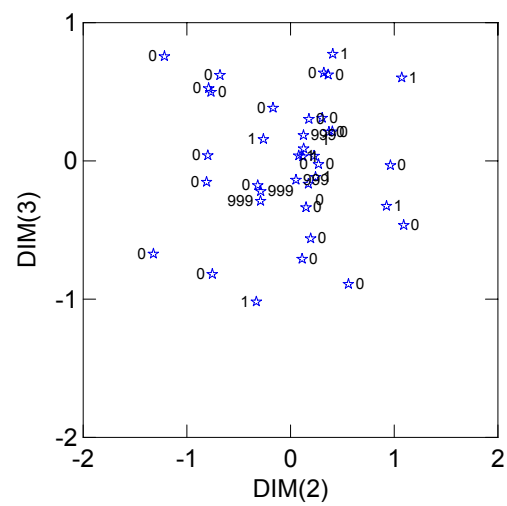
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Camelid Offerings



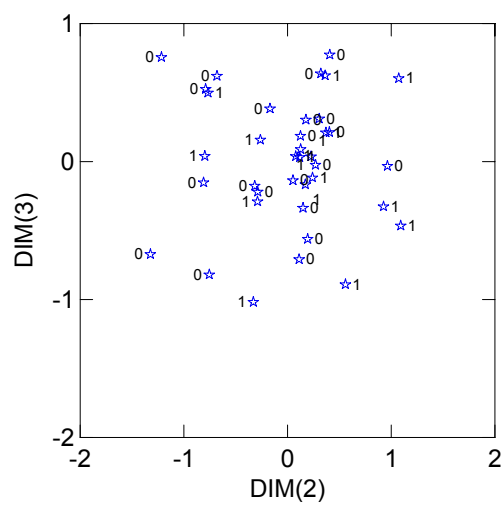
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Greenstone



Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Offering Hole



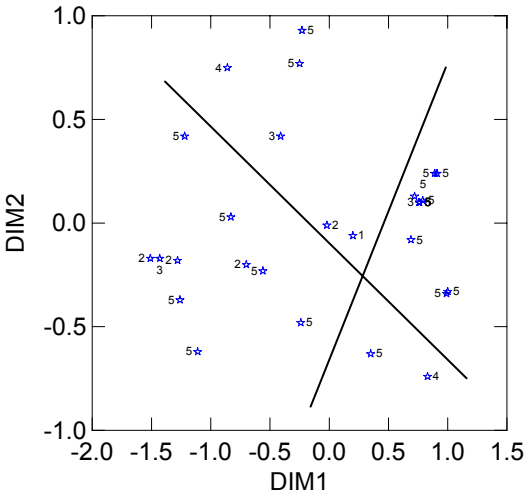
Presence (1)/Absence (0) of Beads



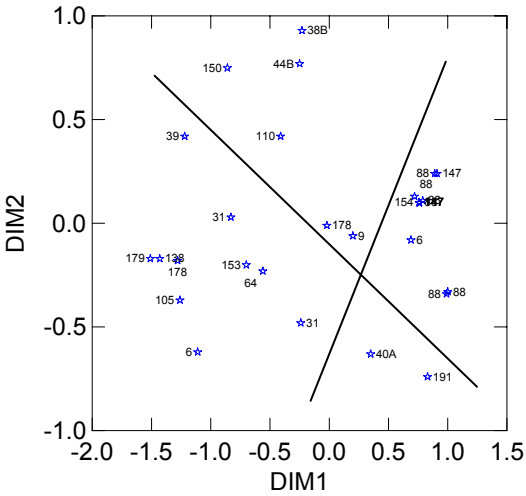
APPENDIX K: Results of Burial Analysis

Dimensions 1 and 2

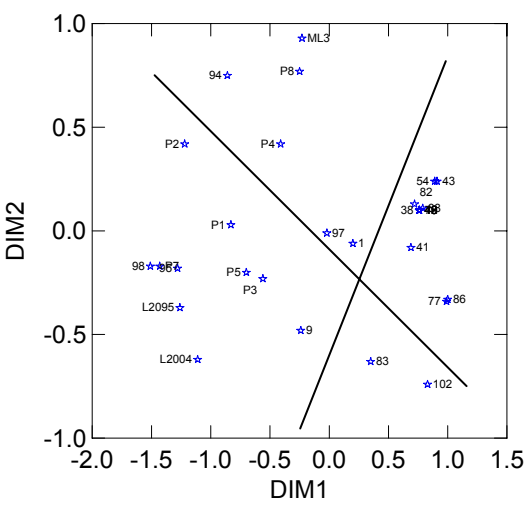
Zone



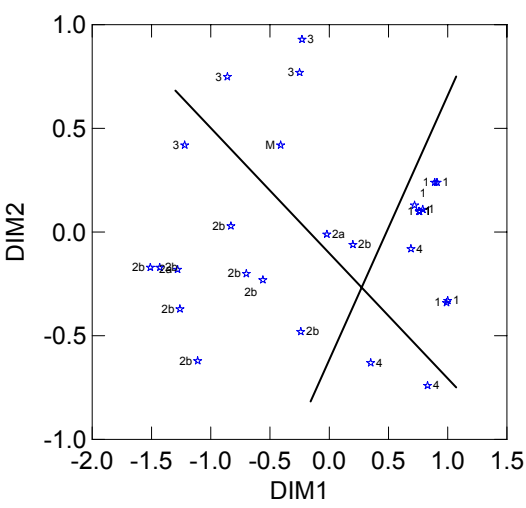
Architectural Spaces



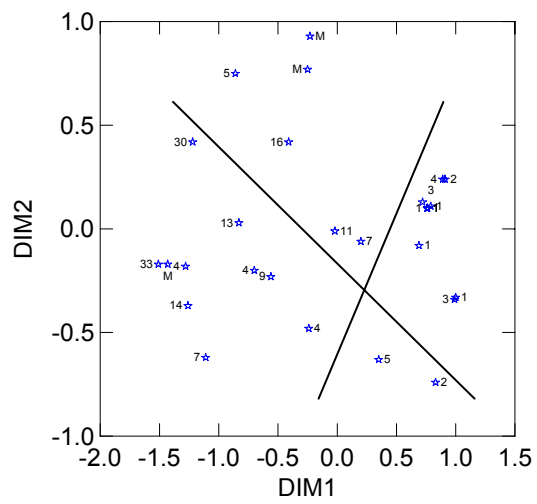
Burial number



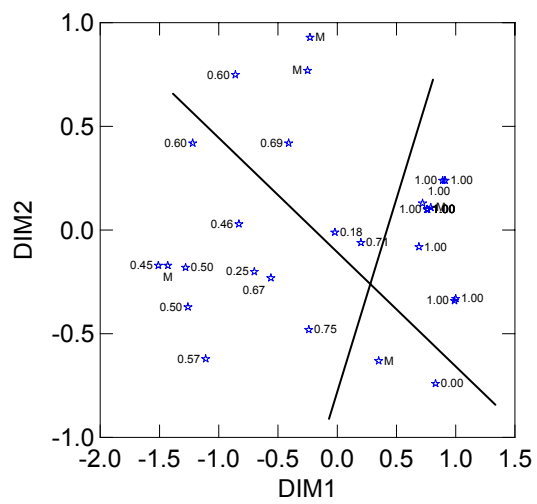
Burial location



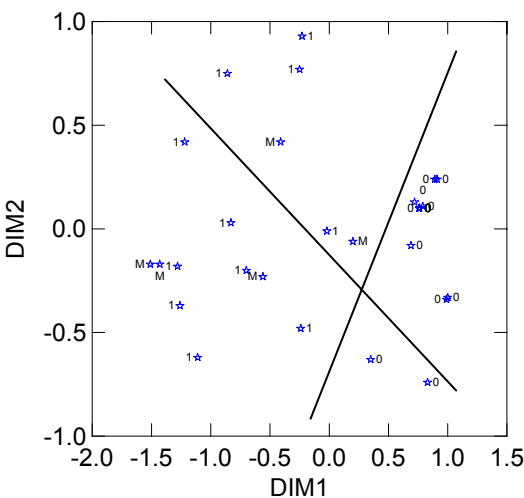
MNI



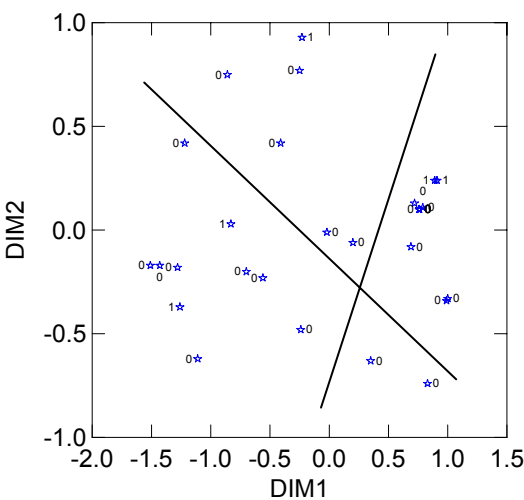
Percentage of subadults



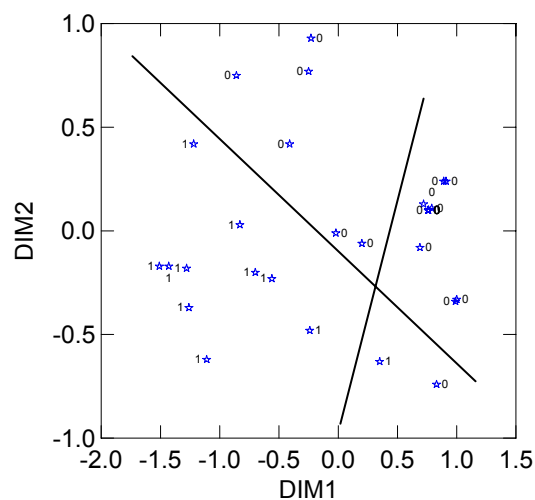
Presence/absence of offering hole



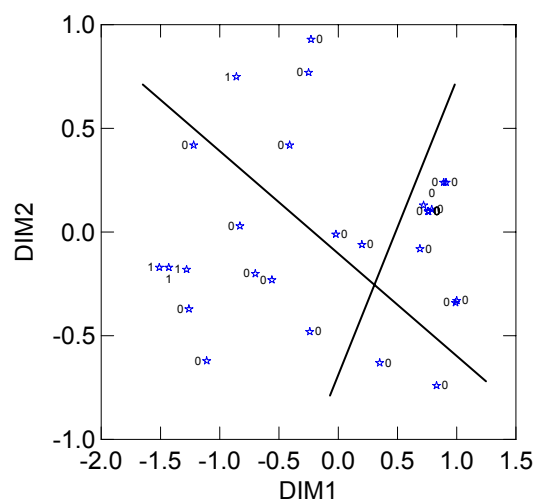
Presence/absence of small face-neck jar



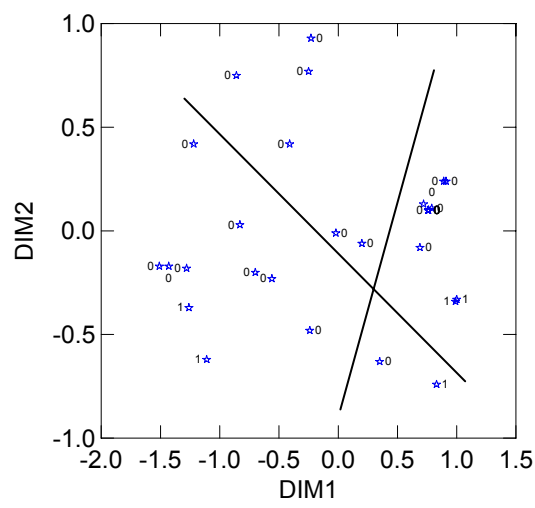
Presence/absence of Wari blackware style ceramics



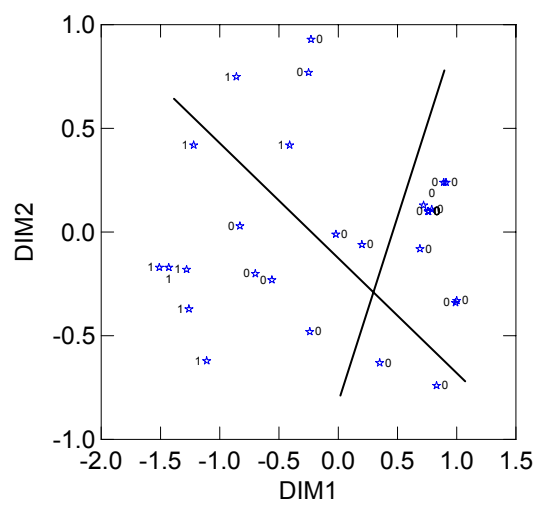
Presence/absence of gold and/or silver



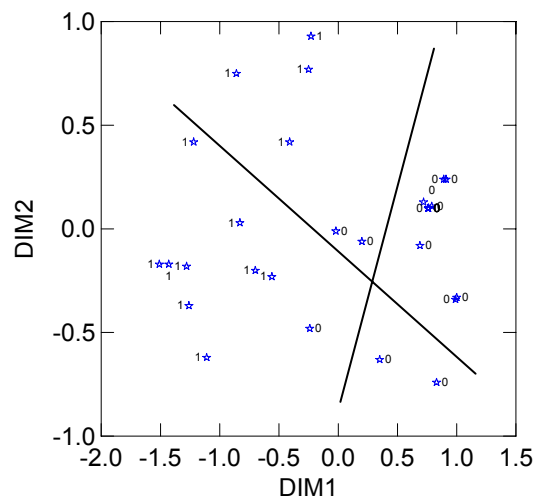
Presence/absence of shell adornment



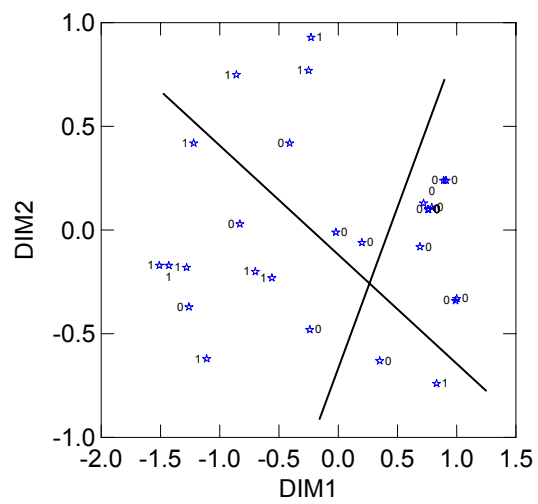
Presence/absence of beads



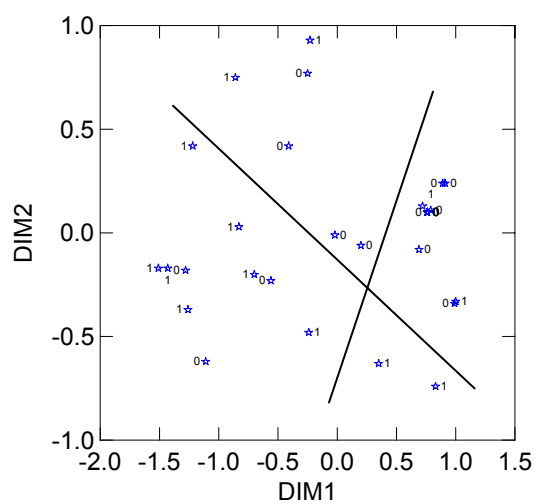
Presence/absence of *Spondylus*



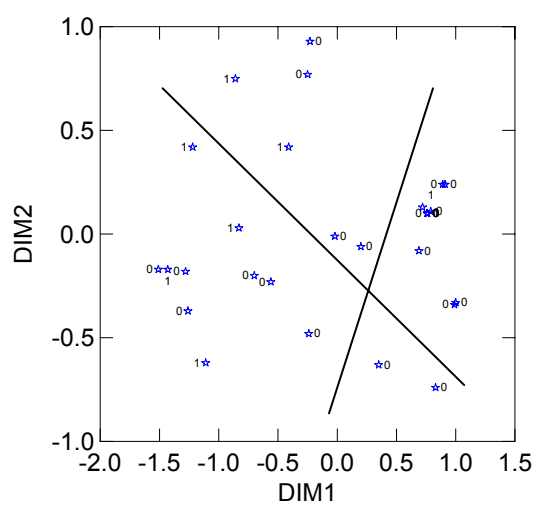
Presence/absence of greenstone



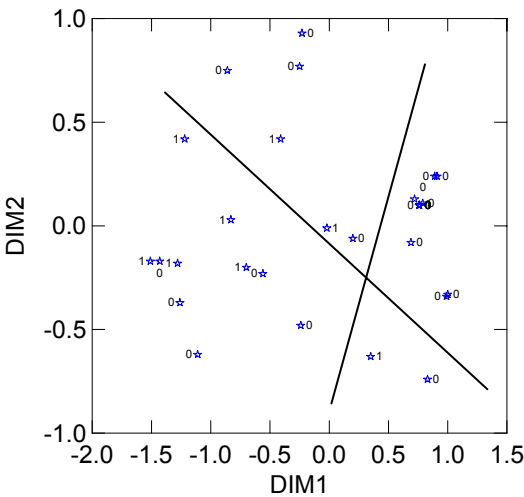
Presence/absence of copper artifacts



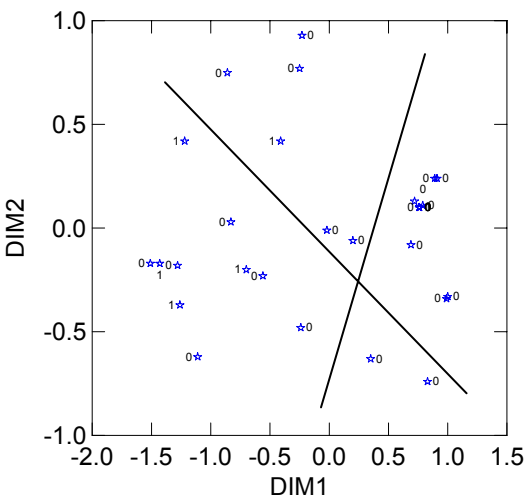
Presence/absence of cinnabar



Presence/absence of miniature ceramic jars

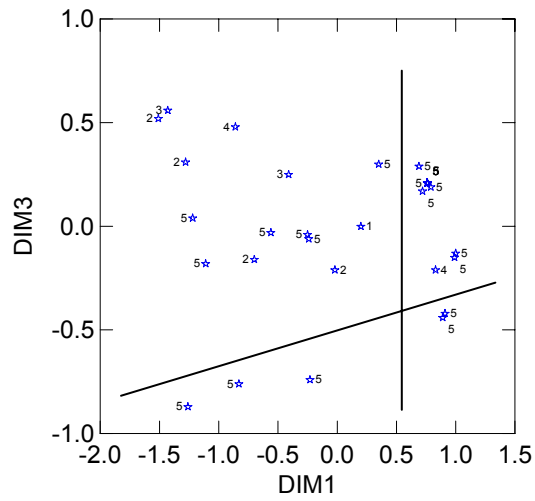


Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns

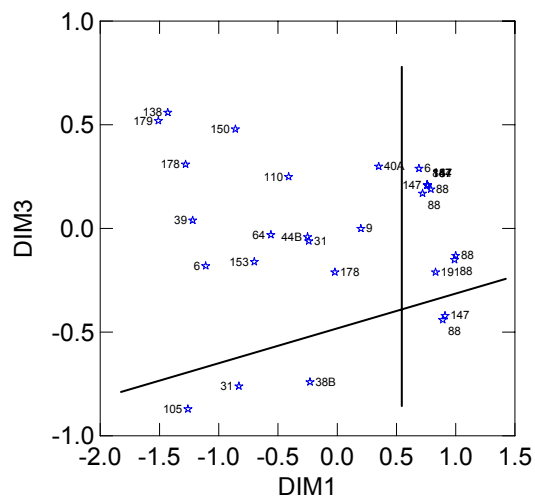


Dimensions 1 and 3

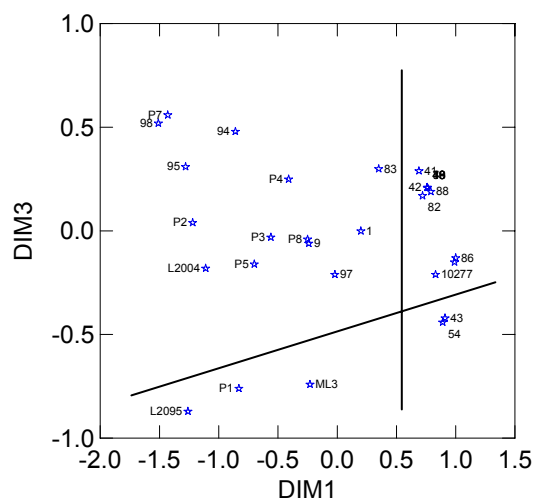
Zone



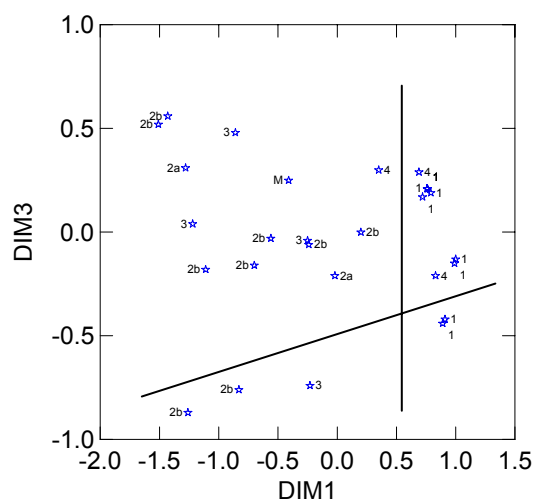
Architectural space number



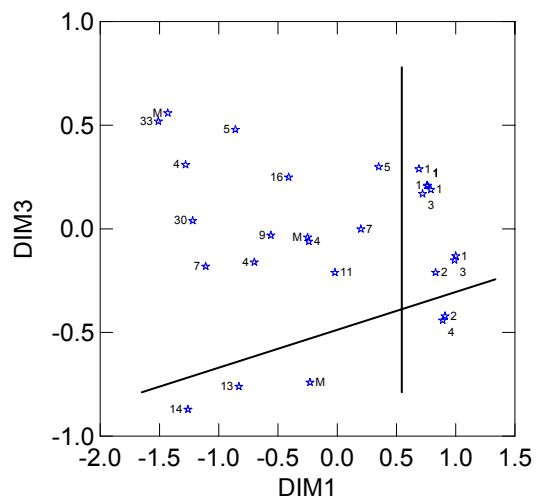
Burial number



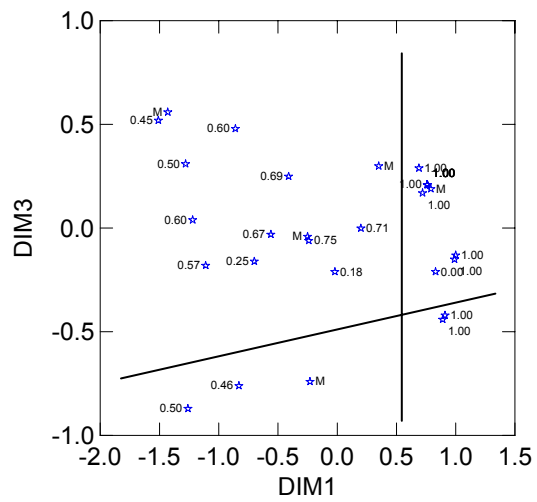
Burial location



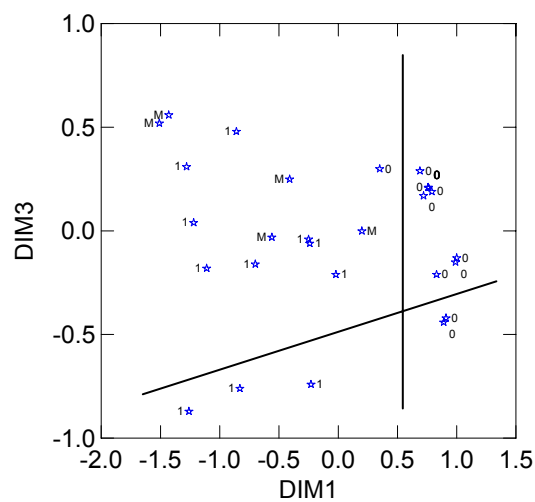
MNI



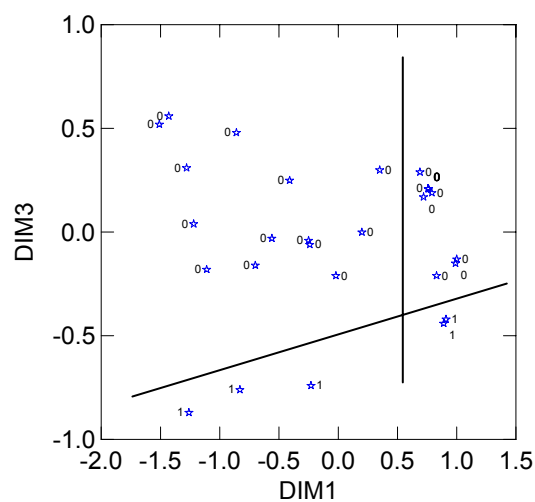
Percentage of subadults



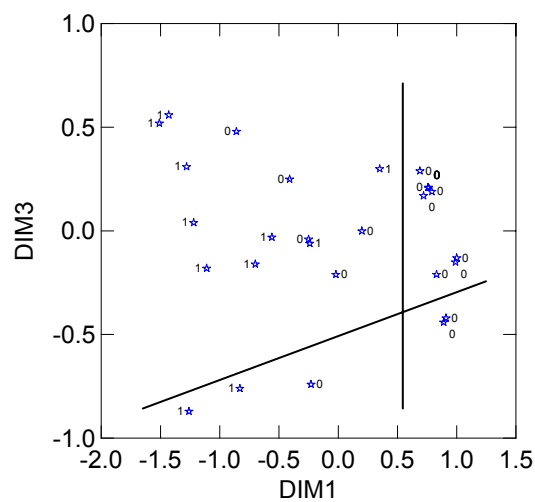
Presence/absence of offering hole



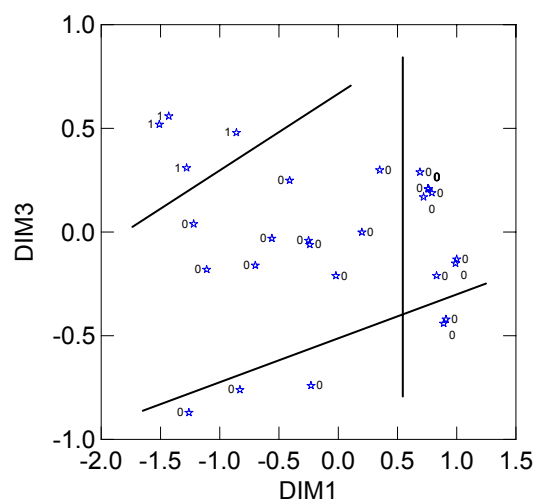
Presence/absence of small face-neck jar



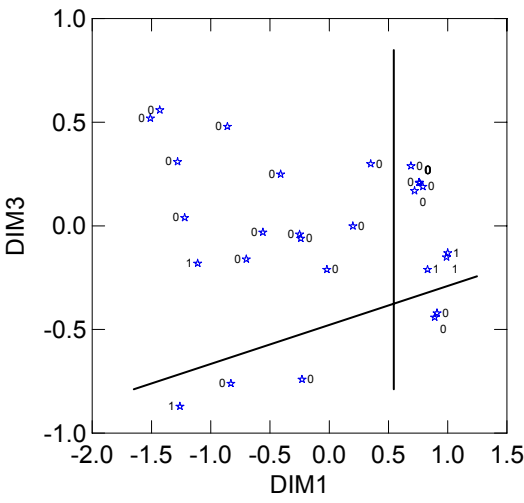
Presence/absence of Wari blackware style ceramics



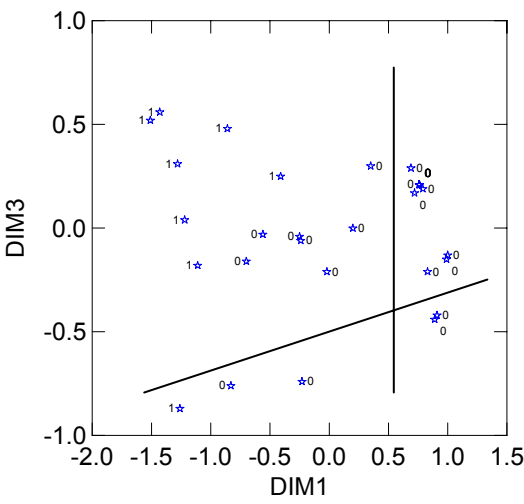
Presence/absence of gold and/or silver



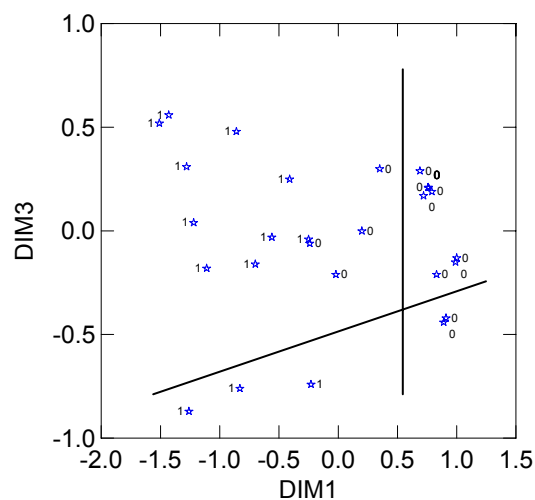
Presence/absence of shell adornments



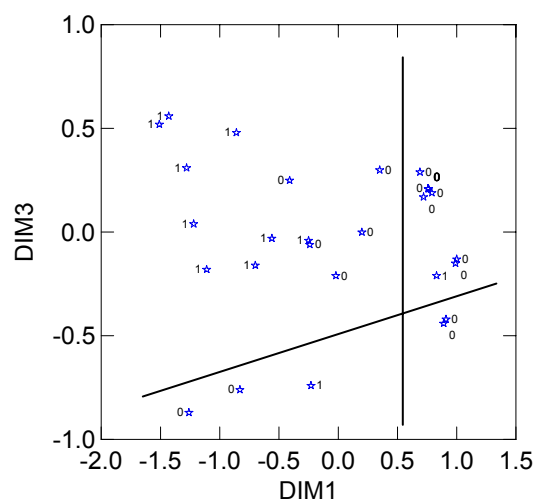
Presence/absence of beads



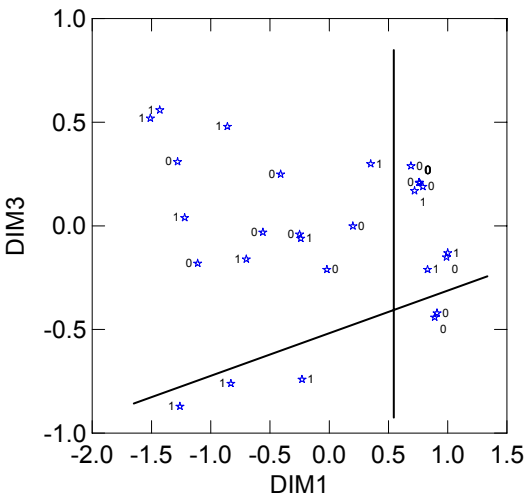
Presence/absence of *Spondylus*



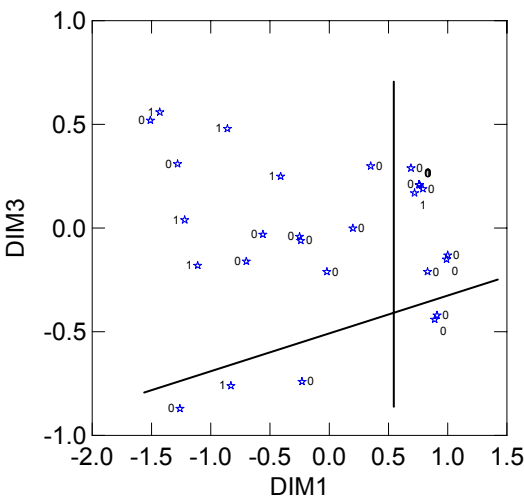
Presence/absence of greenstone



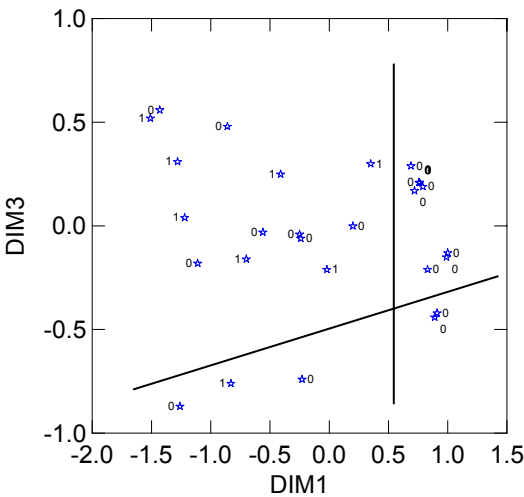
Presence/absence of copper artifacts



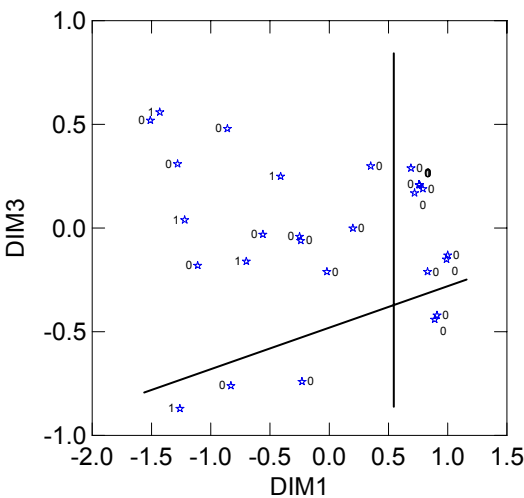
Presence/absence of cinnabar



Presence/absence of miniature ceramic jars

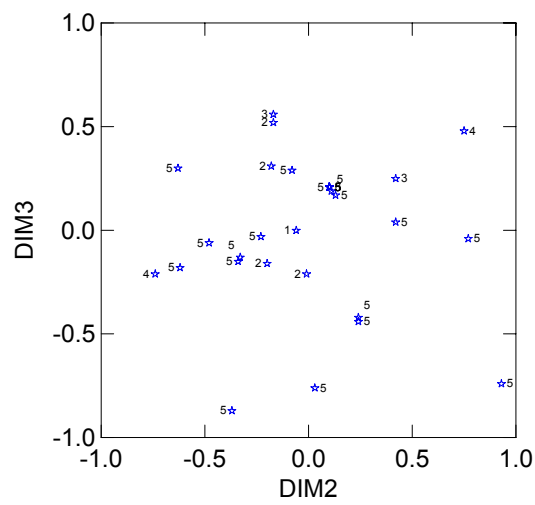


Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns

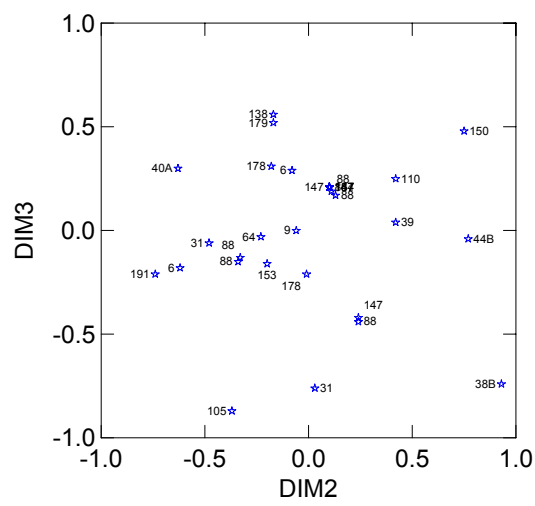


Dimensions 2 and 3

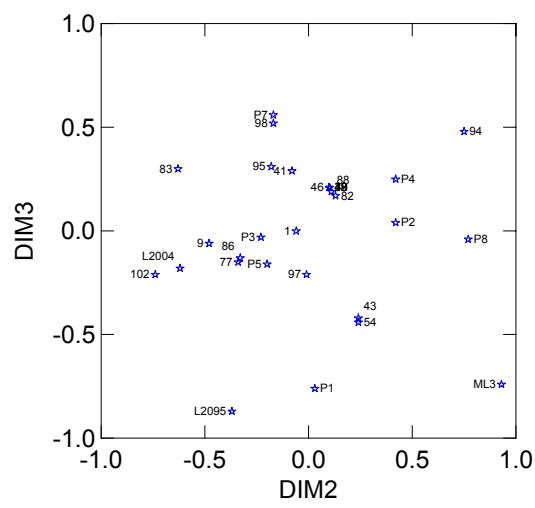
Zone



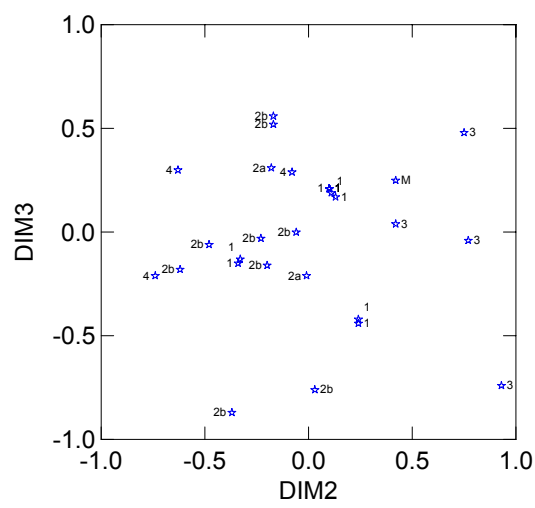
Architectural space number



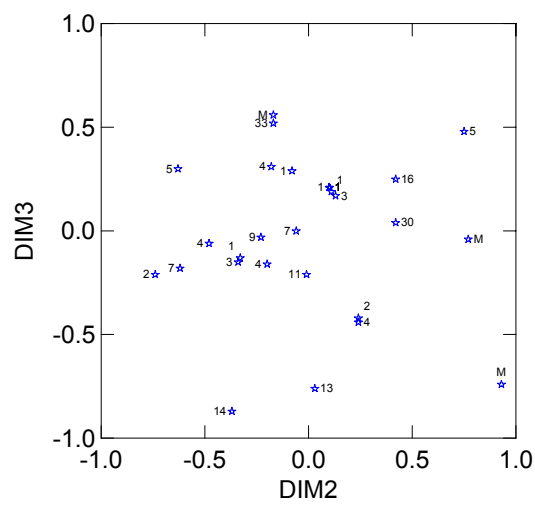
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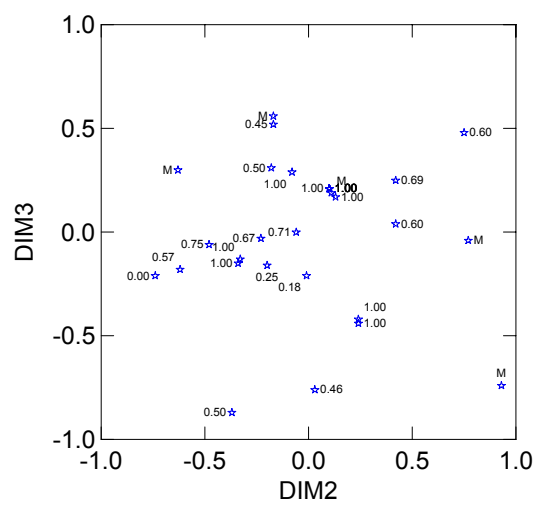
Burial location



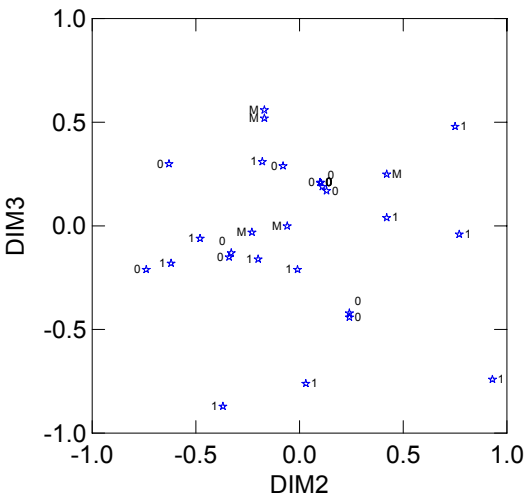
MNI



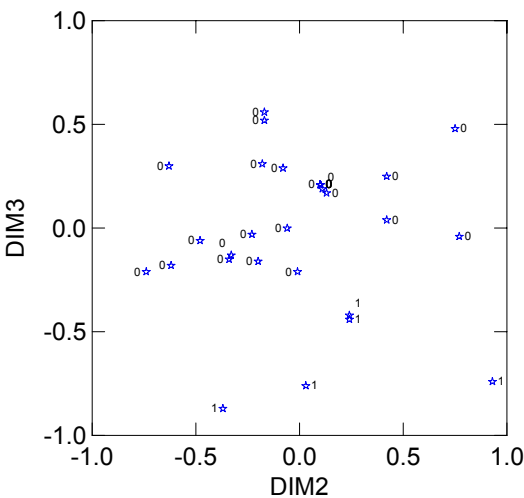
Percentage of subadults



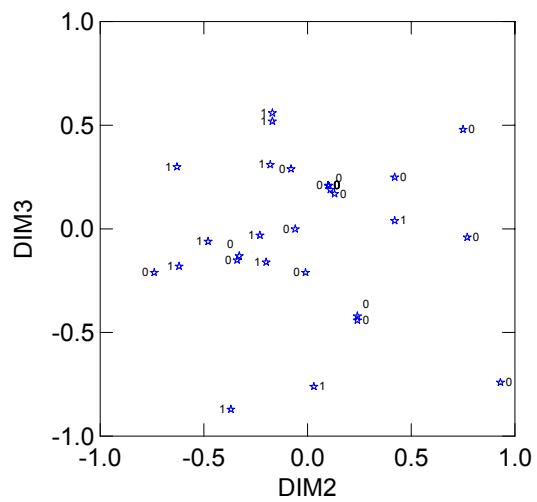
Presence/absence of offering hole



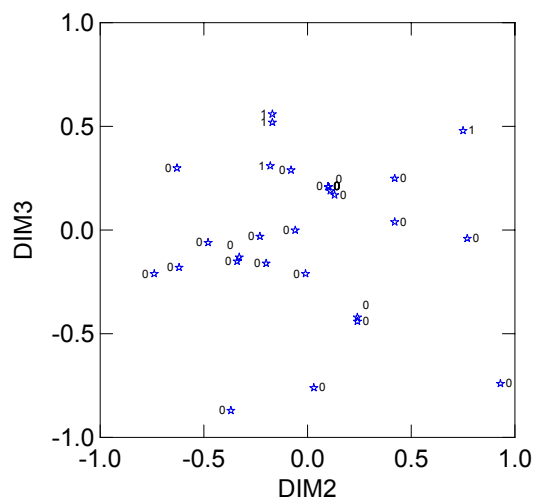
Presence/absence of small face-neck jar



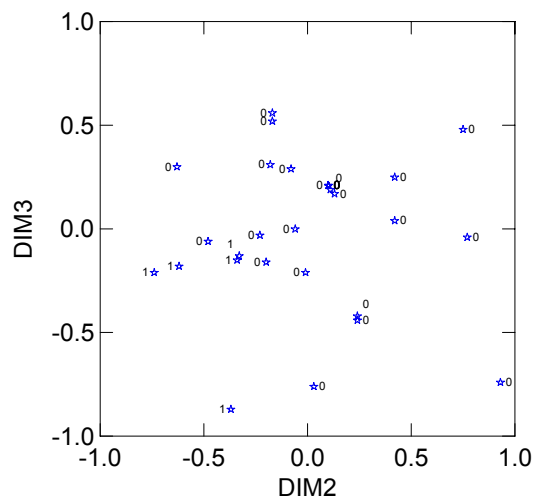
Presence/absence of Wari blackware style ceramics



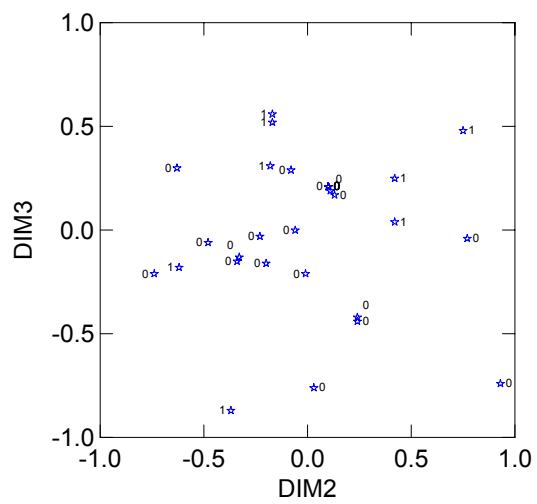
Presence/absence of gold and/or silver



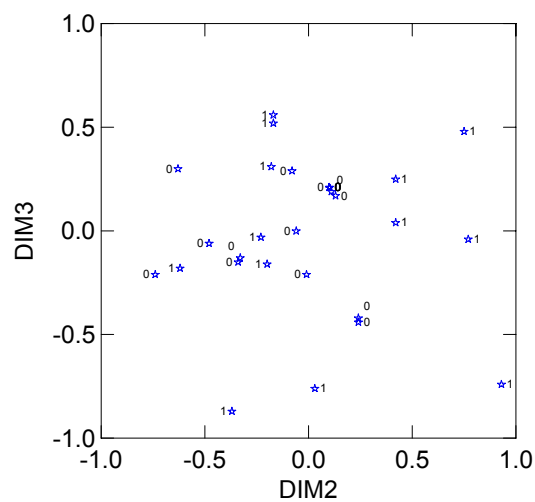
Presence/absence of shell adornment



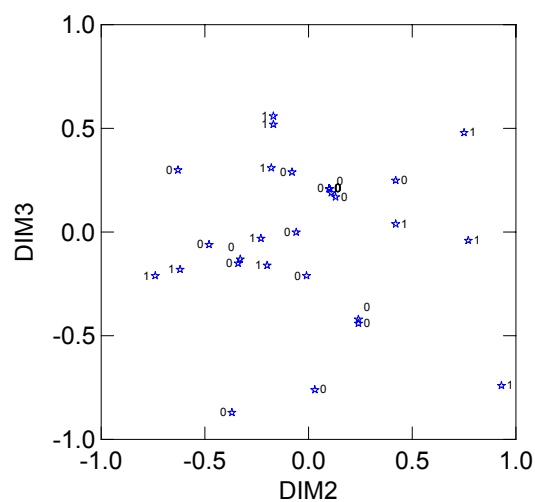
Presence/absence of beads



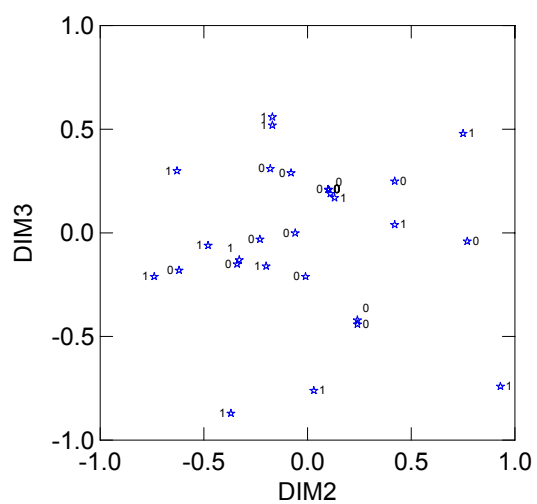
Presence/absence of Spondylus



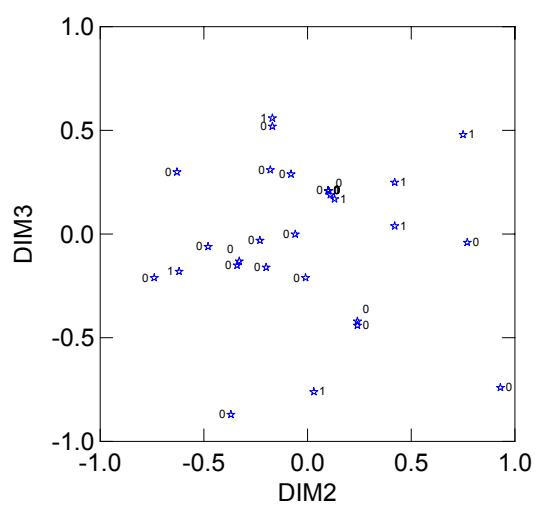
Presence/absence of greenstone



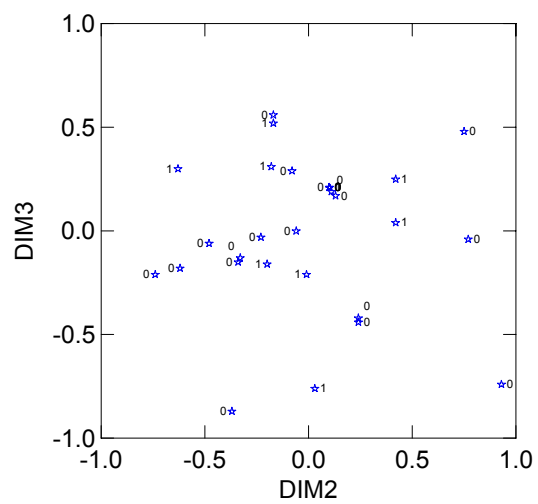
Presence/absence of copper artifacts



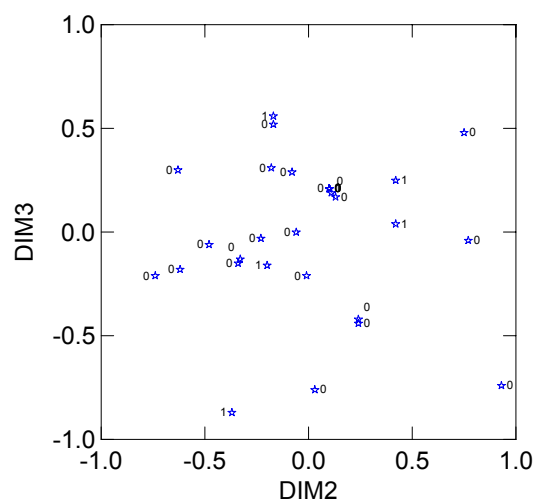
Presence/absence of cinnabar



Presence/absence of miniature ceramic jars



Presence/absence of miniature ceramic urns



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